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CONTENTS		
		PAGE
Handel's Two-length Bar	H. H. Wintersgil	1 . 1
Weber and the Romantic Movement	R. Gorer	. 13
The 'In Nomine' and the Birth of Poly-		
phonic Instrumental Style in England	E. H. Meyer	. 25
Jean Jacques Rousseau as a Musician .	H. V. F. Somers	et . 37
Dante's Relation to Music	B. Pattison .	. 47
Emotion in Performance	A. Jarosy trans. H. E. F.	
Hans Sachs	Capt. C. L. R. E.	sbert 59
The Last Scene of Götterdämmerung	T. White .	. 62
Register of Books on Music		. 65
Reviews of Books		. * 71
Reviews of Periodicals		. 87
Gramophone Records		. 90

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Vol. XVII No. I

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

									PAGE
Handel's Two-Length Bar					H. E	I. Win	ntersgi	ill .	1
Weber and the Romantic	Mov	ement			R. G	orer			13
The 'In Nomine' and the	Birt	h of Pol	lyph	onic					
Instrumental Style i	n En	gland			E. H	. Mey	er	0	25
Jean Jacques Rousseau as	a M	usician			H. V	7. F.	Some	rset	37
Dante's Relation to Music			٠		B. P	attiso	n		47
Emotion in Performance	٠	٠				arosy	E. Fie	dler.	54
Hans Sachs					Capt	. C. L	R. E	sbert	59
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INDEX

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JANUARY 1936

Volume XVII

No. I

HANDEL'S TWO-LENGTH BAR

In 1710, at the age of twenty-five, Handel first arrived in London, already a celebrated composer. He had been brought up in the German church tradition, having at twelve learnt all that Zachau could teach him. After this in the Hamburg opera house, and subsequently in Italy, he had rapidly absorbed the operatic style. He had already to his credit, apart from early essays in the German style, some five operas, two oratorios, a serenata, and a set of twelve cantatas for voice and figured bass, all in Italian. His first work in London was that for which he was exactly fitted, the composition of Italian opera; his 'Rinaldo' was a notable success. But in London he also came under the influence of the English style.

The opera in England was then, as it has always been, a grafted branch on the national tree. There is a tendency to ignore or deny the existence of the tree itself. Yet for a century and a half preceding the Civil War, English music, both vocal and instrumental, was a flourishing growth. That its practice was to some extent checked by the Puritan movement cannot be denied; yet there is plenty of evidence that although cathedral music suffered a marked set-back, private music-making continued. The real hey-day of the contrapuntal school was under the Stuarts rather than the Tudors. Wilbye, for a single example, was at Hengrave as a musician from about 1595

to 1628. That period covers the publication of a vast amount of vocal and string music.

Under Cromwell's protectorate, at the height of the Puritan regime, Playford began his music publications with 'The English Dancing Master,' 'A Musical Bouquet' for strings, and an 'Introduction to the Skill of Musick' whose continued popularity (it ran through twenty editions) discountenances the suggestion that the English were not devoted to the study and practice of music. With the Restoration came Charles II and his famous string orchestra which functioned both in chapel and ball-room. Music was heard every day and in every place. Pepys, for one, practised singing and instrumental music. When a friend drops in, music is the natural sociable resource. Beguiling the journey by boat up the Thames, they sing part-songs and catches. Every tavern provides music of some sort, or at least instruments for the guests to amuse themselves with.

Then came Purcell with his odes and anthems with orchestral accompaniment; his multitudinous dances for strings; his solo songs, many of them written for the theatre. The English audiences liked to have their plays sprinkled with a song or two, a taste dating from long before Shakespeare. Purcell's contemporaries wrote in a similar style, if not with his genius. Purcell was dead fifteen years when Handel reached London; but his music survived with no loss of popularity. It is clear that in England Handel found a well-established musical culture, and one differing from the two styles with which he was already acquainted.

Handel could hardly escape English music-making if he wished. The evidence shows that far from trying to escape contagion, he frequented St. Paul's, hobnobbed with the singing-men in the tavern after service, and attended Britton's chamber concerts. After all, the opera played only two nights a week, and Handel was both sociable and inquiring. It may safely be assumed that had Handel never come to live in England, his musical style (apart from the forms in which he composed) would have lacked some of its characteristics. There is much in Purcell that Handel did not assimilate; but the English influence is undeniable. There is one detail of this influence to which I wish to draw attention. I have called it, for convenience, the 'two-length bar.'

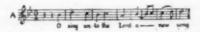
The two-length bar can only occur in triple time, and consists in the deliberate juxtaposition of three crotchet and three minim rhythm (or other proportionate notation), although the three crotchet barring is maintained. This rhythmic device was frequent in the vocal music which Handel heard in England. Here is an example from Blow's 'I beheld, and lo a great multitude':



Here the dotted lines in bars 4 and 5 indicate the real rhythmic division. The following is a strong example in sequence, from the same anthem:



Purcell himself uses this rhythmic figure freely in church music, both in vocal parts and instrumental ritornelli; less frequently in secular vocal and instrumental music. In the dance movements the rhythm is prescribed, and there is little scope for the two-length bar. In the Credo of the great Service in B flat it is used at the words 'the Lord and Giver of Life'; again at 'worshipped and glorified.' In the Benedicite it comes frequently. In the Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur (neither of them included in Novello's octavo edition) the two-length bar is positively 'featured,' to borrow a term from modern showmanship:



In these two movements the two-length bar is used no less than seventeen times.

In June, 1711, Handel returned to his proper duties in Hanover and stayed for a year. During that time he composed a set of thirteen two-part cantatas, 'chamber duets,' for the use of Princess Caroline. They are supposed to show the influence of Steffani. In one of these pleasant cantatas ('More sweet rays') edited recently by

Dr. Whittaker (Oxford U.P.) the first movement is in aria form, triple time, and the two-length bar occurs in the principal themes and the cadences of both sections. Of the other twelve cantatas, seven have the two-length bar; two have no triple time movement.

Steffani, round about 1690, composed a number of duet cantatas which attained considerable popularity in Europe, and there is no doubt that these suggested to Handel a similar essay. Hawkins in his History prints in full one of Steffani's duets. This actually contains several examples of the two-length bar; it is used in sectional but not final cadences, and also, in a very simple, naive form, in the construction of phrases. It is probable that this influenced Handel in the writing of his own cantatas, but its effect was, I suggest, not to evoke admiring imitation, but to rouse the memory of the vigorous rhythms he had heard recently in England. For his strongly accented use much more resembles the English style than Steffani's smooth fluctuations.

Whence had the English school of Purcell the two-length bar? It has been suggested that it came from Italy, via Lully and the Italian composers whom Purcell is known to have studied. In that case it would be reasonable to suppose that we might find the figure in regular use in the Italian school. Theoretically this variant of triple time might be known to the composers of any school, and it would be strange if it did not crop up occasionally. Actually that suggestion roughly represents the amount of use we find in contemporary Italian and German composers. The two-length bar appears as a lengthening out of the triple time in forming a cadence. It occurs in Cesti, Lully, Froberger, Buxtehude, Fux, Cambra, Caldara, all contemporaries of Purcell. But it is not, to my knowledge, used by them as a 'feature' rhythm, by which I mean that the two-length bar forms an essential rhythmic shape in the construction of a phrase, as distinct from the cadential use where it serves as a slowing-up before the point of rest.

The cadential use first appears about 1650, and is only moderately frequent. By some Italian composers it is not used, or very rarely, notably Alessandro Scarlatti and Corelli. Corelli is fond of using slow link passages in double length notes between the movements of his violin sonatas; this is similar in principle to the two-length bar, though not the same figure. The conclusion is that the two-length bar was not a regular part of the Italian style of the period. Handel, who assimilated that style, did not use it up to the time that he came to England. 'Agrippina' and the twelve solo cantatas have many triple time movements, but no two-length bars. In any case, if the more cadential use had only recently appeared in Italy, the influence

must have travelled quickly for Blow and Purcell to have received it and developed out of it their more vigorous cadence, and their strong, not to say violent, feature use.

Owing to the appalling lapse in English composition during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and to unfamiliarity with our earlier achievements, there has been a tendency among historians to suppose that no good thing could come out of England, and to ascribe all merit and ideas to foreign influence. Yet there was a time when English music influenced the rest of Europe, and English composers invented and developed a style of their own. It is more likely that the two-length bar was suggested to Italy by England, rather than to England by Italy. It is, however, not impossible that Italian composers discovered its use independently.

In the light of recent publications—the English Madrigals, the Lutenists, and Tudor (Stuart) Church Music—it is necessary to revise some estimates of the importance of Italian music during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An accessible edition of English seventeenth century composers would be a boon. Lassus, Palestrina and Victoria are marvellously satisfying in their own field, but quite unfruitful in suggestion for the future. The corresponding English composers developed in their work ideas which went to the making of a new style. There was a strong 'harmonic' bias in English music before 1600. Later, Purcell's 'Dido,' a work far surpassing the Italian dramatic essays, gave a lead which unfortunately was never taken up.

The importance to musical history of the 'Nuove Musiche' has been over-rated, in that on the purely musical side it has little novelty. In the article on Song in *Grove* appears the following: 'An epoch in musical history was undoubtedly marked by Caccini when he published in 1601 under the title of "Le nuove musiche" a collection of madrigali, canzone, and arie for one voice.' Yet a dozen years earlier Byrd had printed a solo and duets with string accompaniment, and there were already half a dozen English volumes of songs to the lute, or lute and bass viol. The 'verse anthem' was also an English invention.

In Italy, composers had to break away from a strong ecclesiastical influence, and pick up and make respectable what popular music there was. In England, where the Church's influence was less pervading, secular music had not been neglected by serious composers (compare the early work of Cornysshe and Edwards) and we find in the sixteenth century a well-developed secular style which actually influenced the style of church composers. During Palestrina's period there was no

demand in England for the Mass. Hence we find but few examples, and little music for the Roman liturgy. Byrd and the others composed a great many Latin motets (for domestic use, texts from the Psalms) and used for them a contrapuntal style which aimed at breaking up the time and avoiding regular rhythm. The strict madrigal style was similar.

But simultaneously they composed for the English service church music which acknowledges the secular influence in admitting a good deal of regular rhythm. The two-length bar is never found in their Latin contrapuntal style; as a matter of fact the characteristic contrast in strict contrapuntal style is not three crotchets against three minims, but triple time against quadruple. Triple time was largely a secular preserve, and it is the secularised style which employs 3-4 against 3-2. I have the impression that it is done there deliberately for definite rhythmic variety, not in the manner of rather formless primitive music, as in India, when 3-4 melts into 3-2, and 3-2 into 3-4 in a vague sort of way.

In writing for the English church, Byrd and others definitely and frequently used the principle of the two-length bar, even if they wrote no bar-lines, both as a feature and cadentially, long before its appearance abroad. Here is the opening of an anthem by Byrd:



This style is maintained throughout. Incidentally the melody of 'and deeply, etc.,' shows us where Purcell got his characteristic melodic habits. Further instances from Byrd are: the Great Service, end of Venite; the Short Service, end of Gloria in Magnificat; 5-part Service, Magnificat, 'He hath filled,' and end of Gloria. He also uses it in many anthems, and in several of the more 'harmonic' madrigals, for instance in 'Christ is risen again' at 'resurrection of the dead,' and at the end of the 3-2 section (Fellowes' edition). In the famous 'Though Amaryllis dance in green,' the two-length principle is the most striking feature of the whole song.

Robert White makes play with it at 'praise Him in the cymbals and dances' in his 'O praise God in his holiness.' It is found in Gibbons, e.g., as a cadence in 'O Lord, in thy wrath,' and in a phrase of Song 9. Thomas Tomkins, writing probably about 1630-40, uses it:



That the two-length principle had long existed in English secular music is shown by the frequency with which it is used by the Lutenist song-writers. A great part of their output is in triple time. Dowland in 1597 printed his 'First Book of Ayres' of which the songs were very popular and not new, since one of his reasons for publishing was that they were being 'pirated.' Dowland's rhythm is sometimes remarkably free, but for the most part definite enough to show clearly the two-length bar, as in 'Awake, sweet love,' 'Now, O now I needs must part,' and 'Shall I sue.' Here is an example from one of the loveliest songs ever written, 'Come away, come, sweet love':



There are many other examples, but this is abundant evidence that the English school had a strong life and originality, and that the two-length bar was a principle traditionally and peculiarly English. The super-imposition of the Italian style, lock, stock and barrel, at the beginning of the eighteenth century was a gift for which we have no reason to be thankful. It was foreign to the mentality of our race and our musicians failed either to push aside the incubus or to absorb it.

In 1713 Handel came again to England, and this visit lasted the rest of his life. From this time the two-length bar appears in almost every work he wrote, the operas from 'Teseo' to 'Deidamia,' and the subsequent series of oratorios. This is not to say that it is certain to be found in every triple time movement, but there is a good chance of it. It does not appear in slow tempo in which the three beats are themselves divided to make a regular six. Nor does it appear at all in six-eight time, which is rather regarded as ornamental duple.

Handel uses the two-length bar chiefly in forming a cadence; sometimes as a 'feature' rhythm. In Purcell the figure is most used in church music; Handel when choirmaster at Cannons, writing the Chandos anthems, might naturally be expected to use it freely. He does so to the extent that it is found in all twelve except Nos. 4 and 6, which have each only a slow triple movement in which the half-beat

is the unit. Here is a cadential two-length bar from an interesting chorus for STTTB in No. 9:



The following is the beginning of a later chorus in the same anthem:



This theme, if sung unintelligently in ordinary triple time, produces a strong false accent. But if treated on the two-length bar principle, it works out satisfactorily and provides a pleasing rhythmic contrast with the plain triple of bars 1, 4, and subsequent bars. The theme recurs, and the treatment is the same each time.

An unknown wit, after the caustic fashion of his kind, once remarked that 'in Yorkshire the year has three seasons, Spring, Summer, and the Messiah.' The third season is upon us and will recur, so it may be well to consider the appearance of the two-length bar in that work. Of the solo movements in triple time, 'But who may abide' has no two-length bars. 'Thou shalt break them' is plain until the final cadence, when 'potter's' should be accented as a two-length bar. It can be sung as plain triple time, but its outline:



is Handel's usual cadential formula; and the harmony of the chords in pairs suggests that Handel intended here a two-length cadence.

In 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' two-length bars may be inferred at the cadence of the orchestral introduction; again at the first 'day upon the earth'; again at the second 'upon the earth'; again at the end of that section, thus:



The phrase 'shall I see God' occurs five times. Each time the singer should accent it as a two-length bar (emphasis on 'see'), though at the second occurrence the orchestra maintains ordinary triple rhythm. In 'The trumpet shall sound,' the word 'Incorruption' occurs twice. The second time is certainly a two-length bar; the second I should take so too, but it may be regarded as an anticipatory accent.

Only two choruses are in triple time. The motion of 'Let us break' is six quavers to the bar rather than three crotchets. But 'And the glory' is plain triple and contains two-length bars at bars 9-10 (orch.), 36-37 (chor.), 41-42 (orch.), 100-101 (chor.), 127-128 (chor.). For an example, bars 99-102 should be treated thus, the dotted bar-line being ignored entirely:



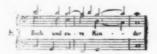
There has been a good deal of agitation recently about performing 'The Messiah' as Handel wrote it. Some conductors try to avoid dulness by speeding things up. The same specific is tried also on other composers, notably Mozart. I have heard 'And the glory' taken at the tempo of a Viennese waltz, though without the waltz's verve. High speed never was a remedy for 'wooden' performance; the true cure is realisation of intrinsic rhythm and its presentation at a suitable tempo. The two-length figure is part of the intrinsic rhythm of this chorus, and if we fail to detect and sing it, we miss Handel's intention.

An interesting popular example of the figure from Handel's period, though not (I am open to correction!) from his pen, was the cadence of 'God save the King,' before our national genius for rougeing the lily changed:

The two-length bar is found chiefly in vocal music, and is most noticeable and important there because of the stress of the words to which it is fitted. When it occurs as a feature rhythm within a phrase, it may be attributed to the desire either for proper accentuation or for rhythmic variety. When it forms a cadence, which is far more common, it arose no doubt as an allargando ending, after the

manner of Corelli's lengthened link-passages. Handel developed a fondness for the figure, and used it frequently by transference, as it were, in instrumental works, for example various clavier pieces, string sonatas, organ concertos, the Fire and Water Music.

Bach never used the two-length bar as freely as Handel, though it finds a greater place in his later technique than earlier. So far as my observation goes, he was not acquainted with it in his early period. The solitary cantata written at Arnstadt has triple time movements, but not the two-length bar. Nor does it appear in the instrumental works of the period. But at Mühlhausen, at the age of twenty-three, he wrote a wedding cantata (No. 196) containing a duet in which he seems to have discovered for himself or realised the emotional possibilities of the two-length bar. This is the cadence of 'The Lord bless you more and more, you and your children':



The cadence is followed by a short coda.

In the cantatas of the Weimar period we find examples of a simplicity and bluntness almost equal with Handel's. In the later cantatas Bach's greater subtlety and complexity alters the treatment, making the two-length bar a vehicle of emotional intensity, and sometimes disguising the directness of the rhythmical change. In the Cöthen birthday cantata (No. 173, dated 1718 by Terry), final chorus, the chorus sings an obvious two-length bar while the orchestral part alone would not suggest it.

The two-length bar must not be confused with anticipatory syncopation; I quote soprano and alto parts from a later cantata (c. 1740), No. 135:



In this passage the first beat is stressed, and where the soprano alone suggests a two-length bar, the alto shows that the tied E merely anticipates the strong beat.

A different complication is Bach's weakness for using time signa-

tures covering what we should nowadays write as two bars. I quote the middle-section cadence from No. 19 of the Matthew Passion:



Bach's fondness for syncopation may obscure the effect of the two-length bar when it does come. A good example is the bass aria 'Glady would I be enduring,' No. 29 of the Matthew Passion. The middle section, 'Lo, His love,' is a subtle mixture of the two-length bar (not in cadence) with anticipatory syncopation. The two-length bar occurs in some half dozen movements of the Matthew Passion, being used in each case for pathetic expression.

In the B Minor Mass it is used with the same object in the 'Qui tollis' and 'Qui sedes,' both being prayers. But it is not in 'Et incarnatus' and 'Crucifixus,' both in triple time. It occurs with Handelian directness in the fugue subject of 'Pleni sunt coeli'; in the exposition of six parts it is a trifle obscured, but comes out vividly at the end. It does not appear in 'Hosanna.' The cadence of 'Cum sancto spiritu' is interesting in that it conveys a suggestion of the two-length bar on a scale of vastness quite different from anything in Handel. It is interesting to compare Handel's method of overwhelming the listener with a blunt, crashing slow tempo at the end of 'Hallelujah' or 'Amen,' with this cadence which, growing out of the movement itself, seems to spread forth the heavens 'in gloria Dei Patris.'

I have been unable to detect an instrumental example in Bach earlier than the sarabandes of French Suites 5 and 6, written at Cöthen about 1720, and in only one of the Inventions (two-part, No. 9) of the same period. It occurs, not very frequently, in the chamber and orchestral music of that period, e.g., the cadence of the famous Chaconne. It is not found much in the organ music, but a good example occurs in a late work at bars 17-18 and similar passages of the 'great E minor' Prelude. Of the ninety-six pieces of the Forty-eight, twenty-three are in triple time. There are only nine clear uses of the two-length bar. The first book (1722) has three, Prelude 8 (bars 35-36) and Fugues 11 and 14. The second book (1744) has six, Preludes 28, 31, 37, 41, and Fugues 39 and 46.

Harmonisation is naturally important in the two-length bar. When this figure is within a phrase, the harmonies of the six beats will be grouped in pairs (though not necessarily one chord to a pair) in order to convey the minim effect. When it is cadential, preceding the final chord of a phrase (not counting coda work on the tonic), beat 5 will normally receive the usual dominant chord in one of its many forms. The 6-4 chord in a cadence is not an inversion of tonic harmony, but in a dominant 11-13, as may be seen from its variants 5-4, 6-3, 7-6-3, etc., and from its habit of resolving (as being an appoggiatura) on the plain 5-3 chord.



If pressed to account for this fifth-beat chord from Purcell, I should reply that it is dominant in feeling and must be labelled (if every chord must have a name!) the last inversion of a dominant 18th (improperly resolved, Mr. Purcell!). Compare the third inversion in Fugue 39 of Bach's Forty-eight. An alternative, and more satisfying, explanation is that Purcell was indulging in 'juxtaposition of sonorities,' and using both these cadences at once:



The æsthetic value and appropriate rendering of the two-length bar depend in each case on the context. Broadly speaking, it is used for either of two purposes, (a) to change the rhythm suddenly, (b) to obscure the rhythm for expressive effect. The latter method is parallel with the cross-timing and superposition of rhythms common in the later romantic composers; and as the object is to leave the exact rhythm in a state of uncertainty, so that the mind carries on the previous beats while the ear receives a system slightly different, to insist heavily on the two-length change is uncalled for. This applies to many of Bach's emotionally expressive uses.

But the two-length bar of Purcell and Handel comes under heading (a). Its minims should be well-marked and sharply divided from the triple crotchet. The proper method of conducting, I suggest, is to treat the six beats as one bar, beating 'one-and-two-three-and,' thus making a complete break from the 'one-two-three' before and after. In border-line cases, where the two-length bar is hinted only, it would avoid fussiness to continue plain triple beats, while the vocal or orchestral parts make such stress alterations as are necessary.

H. H. WINTERSOILL.

WEBER AND THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

Few periods in musical history are more discouraging to examine than that when musicians demanded the right to be considered as artists. It is true that this right had been claimed by Mozart, but his case was exceptional and it seems probable that if his archepiscopal patron had not been such a brute he would have been content. The attitude of Beethoven was even more uncompromising, but Beethoven can scarcely be regarded as a normal individual. The people who were really to blame for this deplorable stand were a group of young Nationalists, from whose ranks only one name has survived: that name is Carl Maria von Weber.

It has often been stated and presumably often been believed that geniuses are in advance of their time. In that case Weber can lay no claim to the title as he is entirely typical of the age in which he lived; indeed it is no exaggeration to point to him as the representative figure of the Romantic movement of the nineteenth century. In order therefore to appreciate fully his achievement it is necessary to consider what this movement was.

Halfway through the eighteenth century an eccentric Englishman built himself a Gothic castellated house in the country. Partly for the fun of the thing and partly actuated by sincere admiration, he drew people's attention to the beauties that the Gothic age had produced. As a result he was regarded as an authority on the subject and a young man from Bristol sent him some poems of that time which he claimed to have discovered. Horace Walpole eagerly read them and superintended their publication, whereupon they were discovered to be forgeries and the youthful Thomas Chatterton, shortly after, committed suicide. Thus the literary romantic movement opened in a blaze of searing emotion and shoddy imitation; qualities that it was destined to keep.

At first it made little headway. Dr. Johnson visited the Hebrides. A certain Mr. Macpherson claimed to have discovered the poems of Fingal and though they were exposed as forgeries, they had a striking success and finally led to the creation of a new dramatic art form in the opera Oithona: (1): A work that suggests the Japanese No play

⁽¹⁾ A detailed discussion of this work would not be germane here. The author proposes to discuss it at length in a work on English Opera, on which he is at present engaged.

in its composition. A further example of the influence of Ossian may be found in the collections of Scottish folk-songs that were exported to such skilled craftsmen as Joseph Haydn, Leopold Kozeluch and Ludwig Beethoven, who could be trusted to provide smooth accompaniments and to do away with any barbarities in the music. A successful writer of comedies, John O'Keefe, collected numbers of the songs of his native Ireland and introduced them into his operas, entrusting their harmonisation to such people as Samuel Arnold and William Shield, who, incidentally, preserved their original character much better than did the Viennese Musicians. Then came the French Revolution, prepared by the writings of such men as Diderot, Rousseau and Helvetius, people who had unsettled men by writing facts that their contemporaries thought were desirable if true, or alternatively neither desirable nor true. Though it is doubtful if many realised at the time the true significance of the French Revolution, its influence on the Romantic movement was great and immediate. There were several reasons for this. Monarchies adjacent to France, particularly Britain, became nervous and a strict literary censorship was started. An amusing example of this may be found in a play of the period. An author has written a play called 'British Liberty or the compact at Runnymede' but the manager objects. 'But do you think a play with such a title as "English Liberty . . ." will ever pass the Lord Chamberlain's office. No, sir, his lordship will protest against it.' As a result of this censorship, authors gave up writing about contemporary society and turned to the past which was represented to them by the delicate tracery of Gothic buildings and the glorious pageantry of illuminated books. The inhabitants of this land of escape were unusually emotional and hysterical. They would fall in love with pictures like Tamino, rant like Werther, be diabolic like Miranda in Lewis' Monk or be capable of unusual swooning like that Emily, in the Mysteries of Udolpho, who, 'during the day time chiefly occupied herself in elegant arts.' Sometimes the heroes were noble savages, Red Indians, or Maoris, for the literary men had not failed to notice the visit of Omai to England. As a rule the savages were reserved for stage spectacles as they afforded an excuse for brilliant scenery. Of this race is the noble but savage Sultan in Die Entführung aus dem Serail, the founder of a race of men who were inflexible towards all but their enemies, who always brought out superhuman virtues in them. Besides the censorship a further impetus towards an art that would help one to escape from the realities was given by the unpleasantness of every day life, with its pettiness and ugliness. The middle class had arisen and gained an ascendancy. The industrial revolution was brewing and the invention of machinery

caused a general feeling of unrest and uncertainty. Nobody knew what was going to happen next.

If electricity could make a dead frog move, why could it not do even more? Holcroft's friend, Carlisle, thought electricity was the same as will power, but few shared his cautious view. This sense of uncertainty that pervaded the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the next century does not seem to me to have been stressed by social historians as much as it deserves. Much of the complacency of the 1850's was due to the comfortable thought that at last all had been discovered.

Another thing that the French Revolution did was to preach the doctrine of universal equality. As a result people regarded aristocrats with the feeling 'I'm as good as you are ' and naturally soon came to think 'I'm better than you are.' This attitude was particularly adopted by the young musicians of Germany. It could only have been in Germany that this could have happened as there were no musicians left in England; in France they were all citizens and in Italy they were kept at writing operas and any composer thinking himself better than the prima donna would quickly have learned to the contrary. It is true that in time even the prima donna was tamed, her throne being taken by the composer and in our day by that primo uomo the conductor.

It is related that Catherine the Great complained that the price she had to pay a certain vocal performer was as much as the wages of the palace guards. 'But can they sing as I do?' enquired the singer. A clumsy retort one would have thought as the singer would have made a poor show of guarding the palace. This however was the attitude of mind of the young Germans. They pointed out that it was only they who were the artists and that their patrons should be sufficiently honoured to pay the piper, without expecting to be allowed to choose the tune as well. Furthermore, they banded themselves together, they wrote to the journals and they rallied together under the war cry of 'Down with Italy.' In the eighteenth century there had begun tentative steps in several countries towards the creation of a national music style as opposed to the international Italian style. In France the problem had been solved by writing the libretto in French dialect and setting it to italianate music as in Grétry's L'Epreuve villageoise. In England folk-songs and ballads were sought out and employed, while recitative was rigorously proscribed. In Russia traditional airs occasionally made their appearance, particularly the air 'Kamarinskaya,' which was the Russian tune everywhere. Germany had solved the problem by

writing the libretti in German and setting them to the usual popular Italian music with an occasional folk air thrown in. The operas of Dittersdorf and Gassmann show it at its best, while the work of Paer and Winter may be taken as being representative of its more pretentious dullness. This was not regarded as satisfactory by the new artists and they sought to find subjects that were in themselves specifically German and to treat them in a specifically German manner. Hence even Fidelio, though they hailed it as a great work. and Weber produced it in Prague, was objected to, because Paer had already set it and because it was about Spaniards. (If it comes to that, Der Freischütz is about Bohemian peasants and Euryanthe about Frenchmen, but they did not seem to mind that.) The two composers to whom the cognoscenti looked for the real German opera were Weber and Meyerbeer. The latter composer soon left Germany and went to Italy, where he began to write Italian music and to be a success. Only Weber was left.

Carl Maria von Weber, a distant relation of Mozart, was musically educated by Michael Haydn and later by the Abbé Vogler, who had so roused Mozart's scorn on the latter's visit to Mannheim. Together with Gottfried Weber, Alexander von Dusch, Meyerbeer and Gansbacher he formed an artistic brotherhood who resolved to advance the cause of German music by composition and by criticism. Unfortunately Weber was not particularly rich and he had to earn a living by conducting the opera at Breslau, from 1804 to 1806; as secretary to the ducal brother of the King of Würtemburg from 1806 to 1810, as a travelling virtuoso from that date till 1813, when he was offered the post of Kapellmeister and director of the opera at Prague; a position he kept till 1816, when he became Kapellmeister at Dresden. During this short period he had come to be regarded as the third composer of Germany, inferior only to Beethoven and Spohr. Beethoven after the failure of Fidelio devoted himself to symphonic composition, but Spohr composed several operas with German libretti and dealing with specifically German subjects. It is necessary to consider why Weber does not seem to have seen in Spohr a co-worker. Spohr's operas were only produced towards the end of Weber's life.(2) By this time Weber was almost exhausted; also he must have seen a rival in Spohr and he was of a somewhat envious disposition. On

⁽²⁾ Spohr's principal operas are:—Faust, composed 1813 but not produced till 1818; Zemire and Azor, 1819; Jessonda, 1823; Die Berggeist, 1825; Pietro von Abano, 1827; Der Alchymist, 1830; Der Kreuzfahrer, 1845. It is true that Weber warmly recommended Spohr as Kapellmeister at Cassel, but though the act does credit to Weber one feels that he was not in sympathy with Spohr any more than Spohr was with him.

the other hand it must be remembered that Spohr's style did not show any great aptitude for dramatic expression and though his operatic scores may be studied with interest to this day, it seems to me doubtful that their performance would have more than an historical interest. (3) One other rival appeared towards the end of Weber's life-Heinrich Marschner, who eventually, in my opinion, surpassed Weber, though not till long after the latter's death. It is to Weber's credit that he was on terms of friendship with Marschner and produced one of his first operas. In this way Weber established himself as the only hope for German opera, though his early works in this field did not give much promise. That he was a discerning, though often faulty, critic and a composer of merit no one, however, could doubt. His instrumental music was often magnificent. It is true that neither as a symphonist nor as a composer of chamber music did he show much aptitude; but he manifested unusual ability in rendering the concerto interesting and his treatment of the piano was new and individual. It is hard to understand why his piano concerti are not played at the present day, particularly the delightful No. 1 in C major. They are unique of their kind, just comparable to those of Chopin and John Field, but infinitely more vital and gay; besides which the orchestration is better. The Concertstück has survived, but it contains passages that are mere concessions to the soloist (e.g., bars 142-183) and in my opinion is far inferior to the earlier concerti. As for his instrumental concerti, the only reason one can find for their not being played lies in the assumption that concerti for wind instruments have no box office appeal. The works for clarinet and orchestra are inferior only to Mozart, while the bassoon concerto is the finest example of that medium extant. The works for piano solo are less interesting and usually somewhat melodramatic and mawkish. The four sonatas are the most interesting, and of them the last in E minor with an 'adagio consolante' and Tarantella finale is the best, while it is hard to decide whether the first in C major with its well-known 'perpetuum mobile' finale or the third in D major with a final Allegro di bravura is the worst. The sonatas all tend to look back to the Patétique sonata as their direct ancestor. They are all constructed on the same pattern. A bombastic first subject is contrasted with a sickly sentimental second melody. The development is practically non-existent. 'The aim of an artistic composition,' wrote Weber in 1810, ' is to deduce the character of the whole from individual thoughts and amidst the greatest diversity, still unity should

⁽³⁾ Since writing the above I have had occasion to restudy the scores of Jessonda and Der Berggeist and I am now by no means sure that a production of these works would not be desirable.

always shine forth.' It would seem from that, that the suite like Schumann's Carneval would have been best suited to his genius. Of the other movements the minuets are usually the worst and are dull; the slow movements are tedious and sentimental but usually contain some passages of beauty, while the finales are full of rapid fireworks. They may be regarded as a whole, as music's contribution to the period of Sturm und Drang. The formula which he first found in the first movements of his piano sonatas Weber subsequently adopted as being most suitable to the operatic overture and it can be seen at its best in the overtures to the three last operas. Before that, however, he had experimented with other forms, as his other overtures bear witness. The overture to Peter Schmoll und seine Nachbarn is an ordinary comic opera overture and the overture to Abu Hassan is much the same. The fine overture to Rubezahl (known also as Der Beherrscher der Geister) is all romantic fire. The overture to Schiller's adaptation of Gozzi's Turandot clearly illustrates Weber's somewhat naive seeking after local colour, being founded on a Chinese melody. The music to Preciosa, a play founded on a tale by Cervantes, shows his method of approach even more clearly. Preciosa was a 'spanische Zigeunerin' and according to Weber's musical map, Spaniards came from Spain, while gypsies came from Hungary. He therefore collected a Hungarian gypsy march and some Spanish dances and included them all in the score, hoping thus to produce a coherent musical work. Such works did not augur happily for German Opera, but there had been much in Silvana that showed promise, though the music did not reflect the chivalric age as much as it should have. Abu Hassan is an agreeable soufflé, though no masterpiece. During his stay in Prague and Dresden, however, he seems to have learned a lot from his experiences. In 1821 he composed Der Freischütz.

The librettist of Der Freischütz performed a remarkable feat in introducing nearly all the machinery of the Romantic age into the one libretto. An old Gothic castle, the devil and his assistant, a maiden of more than usual purity and her flippant handmaiden, the weak but noble lover and a hermit all contribute to make the work typical of its age, even the Alps, a source of many romantic shudders, contribute to the Wolf's Glen. All Weber had to do was to furnish music that would have been even remotely German and the people would have taken him to their hearts. A failure would have been surprising. It is perhaps necessary to point out that libretti of the Freischütz type were not uncommon af the time; indeed the history of the social and artistic background of opera libretti is a subject that might be

studied with advantage, were anyone brave enough to undertake it. But though the type might be common, it is safe to assume that few contained so many claims on popular applause and certainly none had been considered hitherto by a musician of Weber's calibre. In appraising the score let us consider first the more obviously national characteristics. These are the waltz and peasant march in the first act, the bridal chorus in the second and the hunting chorus in the third act. It is interesting to note that hunting songs and choruses occur frequently in the scores of both German and English operas of the period; they were regarded as the very ne plus ultra of nationalism, both nations being convinced that they alone indulged in hunting. Probably the ancestor of them all is a song by John Galliard, 'With early horn,' composed for one of Rich's pantomimes, 'The Royal Chase,' in 1736, which attained immense popularity and firmly established not only the composer, but also his interpreter, the famous John Beard. The finale to the third act also contains passages that are of more ethnographical than musical interest; particularly that deplorable passage beginning 'Er war von je ein Bösewicht, ihn traf des Himmels Strafgericht,' which is sung by a group of horrorstruck peasants to a cheerful folk air. Less obviously national is the fine drinking song for Caspar in the first act, to my mind one of the best things in the opera with its controlled diabolism. Its reappearance in the aria that follows is a stroke of genius, but its momentary presence in the finale to Act II is ridiculous. The rest of the music with the exception of Agnes' two italianate songs is also, naturally, German, but not obtrusively so. Let us now consider what Weber accomplished. As one of his principal virtues I would point to his courage in not disdaining to be 'theatrical.' For some reason that I fail to understand, critics at the time and later appeared to regard operatic music that was theatrical as bad. Even Schumann, one of the greatest music critics, in his attack on Meyerbeer's Huguenots, brings the theatricality of the music as an extra charge. Probably what the critics considered was wrong was for composers to create dramatic effects by extra-musical means; thunder, lightning, spectres, etc. But this is the result of considering the opera away from the theatre; an attitude that has resulted in such works as Genoveva, Euryanthe and similar operas, that please the ear but do not suit the stage and in our time have at last secured satisfactory performances over the wireless. In Der Freischütz, however, Weber had the courage of his convictions and, most notably in the Wolf's Glen scene, took advantage of everything that the stage could offer him to create his effect. His other virtues are his ability to imitate emotions and his treatment of the orchestra, which though it is not

particularly impressive, is never ineffectual. Against these we must set a vulgarity in his choice and treatment of melody, inability to depict character and a dull, sometimes faulty treatment of the voice. Weber's vulgarity is something extraordinary. The second subjects of the overtures are usually luscious hymn-like tunes that may be tolerated for one appearance, but their subsequent reappearance in the opera comes as an anticlimax and they are often extremely inappropriate. It seems amazing how any artist could remain insensitive to such bathos. (But it is rash to generalise about the insensitiveness of artists. It is the custom now for all conductors to insert the third Leonora overture as an entracte between scenes 1 and 2 of Act II of Fidelio, apparently unaware that the march and chorus that follow will come as a terrific anticlimax.) Admittedly many of Weber's melodies are delightful, but the hearer is never sure if this was due only to chance and the impression remains that Weber must either have been lacking in sensibility or else possessed of a very vulgar mind, a not unusual attribute of the early nineteenth century artist. Weber solves the problem caused by his inability to create character by not attempting any such difficult feat. Agnes and Agatha are sometimes pointed out as finely contrasted, but all it amounts to is that one is always serious and the other consistently flippant. If they were ever moved by similar emotions one feels that Weber would express them in the same way. As an example of what I mean by character drawing, compare the Count's aria in Act III of Figaro with Figaro's aria in the fourth act. The two are swayed by many similar emotions: anger, suspicion and injured pride, but there is never any doubt that they are different people. But what do we know of Max, the best drawn character? That he is nervous and in love. The others are just disembodied qualities: Agatha, Agnes, Caspar; Goodness, Flippancy, Villainy. It is significant that in his treatment of the voice Weber improved up to his early death and it seems probable that his abuse of its capabilities was due to ignorance rather than any fundamental misunderstanding; but it is also true that he conceived his melodies orchestrally; often the words have to be wrongly accented as a result and as he proceeds in a song he seems to lose interest in the voice and devote his attention more and more to the orchestra.

Though the Freischütz was a popular success, musicians were inclined to sneer at it. Schubert was not much impressed. Spohr was unable to understand where its attraction lay. Weber was nettled and determined to write another opera which would be all sung and would show the devotees of that filthy fellow Rossini that a German

could produce an opera just as good as any Italian's and without meretricious frills. Incidentally the annoyance of foreign critics at the success of Rossini outside Italy was something extraordinary; read the English journal Harmonicon for an example of all that was degrading in criticism of the time. As a collaborator in this laudable aim Weber chose the Baroness Wilhelmina von Chezy, a dilettante, who may probably be awarded the position of the worst lady librettist. She it was who was responsible for the dull Rosamunde, Königin von Cypern, for which Schubert had provided music. As the foundation of her libretto she chose the fourteenth century Roman de la Violette which she proceeded to embroider according to the fancy of the day. Particularly she introduced the device of the unmentionable. How often in the romances of the period do people read something in a book that makes them tremble with horror or whisper something to their confessors that sets the old man crossing himself. Even the Marquis de Sade, who leaves remarkably little unsaid, makes his characters speak in 'horribles jurements' without lessening the effect by saying what they were. In Euryanthe was introduced the Secret of the Tomb, which is never disclosed but constantly referred to. Unfortunately this device, though most effective in the closet, appeared somewhat mystifying on the stage and as a result it was decided to raise the curtains during the Largo passage of the overture and show Adolar and Euryanthe over the tomb, while Emma's spirit explained in dumb show that she could not rest in peace until the fatal ring was bathed in tears of innocence; a series of gestures one would have thought beyond the powers of most actresses. This also was a failure and finally the secret had to be divulged in the libretto. Apparently Weber was satisfied, for, remarking that a composer didn't have a libretto dropped into his hand like an apple, he had the libretto several times rewritten. When it at length appeared in 1823, it gained a succés d'estime but was never popular. This was probably due to its inadequacy as a stage piece. Indeed all Weber's operas are remarkably hard to produce on the stage. The score deserves study, however. It was the first in which leitmotives were extensively used. Of course, the use of leitmotives was known before, but they are employed more extensively than hitherto. The most important are associated with the tomb, and with It is a pity that Weber included a lot of claptrap of Der Freischütz in Euryanthe. Here again is a huntsman's chorus, a wedding chorus and the song 'Mai, schoner Mai ' is a concession to the Germans, as is also the peasants' chorus in the first finale (Fröhliche Klänge, Tänze Gesänge feiern verschönen euch den Tag,

wo ihr hoch uns erhebet, etc.), but they are somewhat out of place among the lords and ladies of Nevers, as, indeed, is also the dragon. Euryanthe, more than most works that are given the title, seems to me to deserve being termed a musicians' opera. The score is so much more interesting to read than to hear. The whole work shows a distinct improvement on his former operas. There is admittedly not very much improvement in the treatment of the voice and the orchestra is liable at times to swamp the voice even when it is treated adequately, but both in atmosphere and in the imitation of emotions, it is far beyond anything in Silvana or Freischutz. The opening chorus, 'Dem Frieden Heil,' is magnificent in the way it establishes the feudal age in a few bars. Some of the emotional passages are also magnificent, particularly Eglantine's outburst, and Euryanthe's cavatina in Act III. On the other hand, much of the music sounds very ugly. This was partly intentional as Weber had come to regard music as an instrument of imitation rather than as an instrument of expression. As a result he had illustrated ugly emotions by means of ugly sounds. Also his German sentimentality caused him to create rather fulsome melodies when illustrating love and kindred emotions. It is admittedly hard to decide where expression leaves off and imitation begins; but it seems to me permissible to suggest that composers such as Mozart, Verdi, Smetana and Moussorgsky achieve a synthesis of personality, character and emotion in their music that composers as Weber, Wagner, Schumann, Massenet, etc., are unable to attain. To put it more simply, the characters in the operas of Mozart, etc., always sing, the characters in the works of Weber, Wagner, etc., usually talk and are only singing to show how intense their emotions are; they are of our flesh and blood. This is not to suggest that Weber, etc., achieved nothing, as it is obvious that they achieved a great deal, but as a rule they did not succeed in writing operas for the stage. If perfect reproduction could be ensured I would as soon listen to the operas of many composers of the German school over the wireless as in the theatre. Their music is dramatic (as are Beethoven's symphonies) but not always suitable to the theatre. There are exceptions, as der Freischutz and die Meistersinger.

I shall say little about Oberon. It is a pity that Weber put off writing his comic opera 'The three Pintos' to compose it. The surprising thing is how good Oberon is. Weber had only learned English for a year; the lyrics were sent him singly without his being informed of the plot or characters; he had to write bravura songs for touchy singers like Braham, which were utterly antipathetic to

his genius. The libretto, a deliberate return to the Restoration operas of the type of Purcell's Fairy Queen, was hopeless. An opera on the same subject written by Benjamin Thompson and composed by the Welshman John Parry had been a failure some years earlier. Nevertheless Weber provided some of his finest music for it and such movements as the magical finale to the second act leave one with the feeling that if Weber had been spared he would have composed operas for which no excuses would have to be found.

It is often said of artists whose works are sometimes faulty that his virtues were his own, his faults those of his age; this fact apparently extenuating them. I have never been able to subscribe to this opinion myself, feeling that it would reflect more credit on the man if his faults were also his own. However, it is certainly permissible to regard many of Weber's faults as being those of his age. At a time when the height of praise was to be found in the word 'elegant' it would be difficult to expect much in the way of dramatic truth, and it is surprising to reflect that both Goethe and Buchner were alive at the time. As it was, Weber, a child of his age, represented the epoch in which he lived, faithfully in his music. Agatha, pale but interesting, is the typical Hausfrau, Euryanthe a similar figure in a higher sphere; while their lovers have enough humanity to be wrong, but are fit husbands for them. Doubtless their married life was one round of elegant arts.

Such, then, was the man who probably caused more harm to music than any other single figure. Indeed, the only man with whom I can compare him is John Fletcher, who did more harm to the English theatre than any other dramatist. But we must not blame Weber for his baneful influence. His career and his writings show plainly that he was ever actuated by the sincerest aims and the fact that his ideals seem to have been erroneous is not his fault; though had it not been for his great capabilities they would not have been accepted. At any rate, if Weber had not come we should only have found some other figure in his place. The reaction against Italian music was inevitable. Nowadays we are apt to think of Rossini as being the representative figure, as opposed to the most distinguished exponent. There were numerous composers like Pacini and Pavini, whose music was empty and metricious without even melodic charm. It was against these even more than against Rossini (to whose music he at length became reconciled) that Weber fought. It was unfortunate that his followers copied not only his virtues but also his faults and for forty years no German opera composer was free from Weber's faults; even Nicolai's 'Merry wives of Windsor' suffers from sentimental mawkish

melodies. An exception is to be found in Lortzing, but I am unable to regard him as more than a composer of delightful operettas. As for his influence on Wagner, that would require another essay to discuss adequately, and cannot be touched on here.

Bad as much of Weber's music is, it seems to me good enough to be considered and revalued. It has become the fashion to praise it without thought, but seldom to listen to it. As a step towards a new appreciation of him I would like to suggest a parallel between Weber and Puccini. Both men were representative of their age, both had great influence on their contemporaries; both were possessed of somewhat vulgar minds, I have a personal preference for Puccini's Italian vulgarity, but it does not blind me. The parallel can be pressed fairly closely in some ways. The Spanish tunes in Preciosa and the Chinese tunes in Turandot can be compared with the equally incongruous American tunes in the Girl of the Golden West and the Chinese tunes in Puccini's Turandot. Neither were outstanding geniuses. Puccini's operas are very good in the same way that Maugham's plays are good, and Weber's works are of the same quality as the novels of Mrs. Radcliffe, a figure with whom he had much in common. At the moment, it is true it would seem as if Weber, though his achievements might not be greater, is the more important figure. But who can tell what will be Puccini's importance a hundred years after his death?

R. GORER.

THE 'IN NOMINE' AND THE BIRTH OF POLYPHONIC INSTRUMENTAL STYLE IN ENGLAND

IT was about 1600 that there was a sudden blossoming forth of polyphonic instrumental music in England.

Up till now there has been little research made into the origins of this sudden appearance; but perhaps a short description of an important early English instrumental form, the 'In Nomine' (Innomine), will bring some light to bear on the subject.

The Innomine in particular seems to have been neglected by research workers, its existence only occasionally being discussed by Hawkins. (1) Burney, (2) Davey, (3) H. H. Parry, (4), Fr. Howes, (5) Gerald R. Hayes, (6) Terry. (7) J. Pulver. (8) E. H. Richard Fellowes. (9) Ch. Van den Borren. (10) We have to deal here with an autochthonous and purely English instrumental species. Innomine belongs to the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, it is a polyphonic form written generally for several instruments which co-operate in chamber music; we also find it written, though less frequently, for one keyboard instrument. The great number of Innomines that are still in preservation, and the fact that nearly all the great English composers from Taverner to Purcell have written Innomines, lead us to conclude that the Innomine was of much importance during this period. The reason for its importance in the history of music is that here for the first time we see a specifically instrumental style being formed.

The chief historic sources of the Innomine are: Ms. Mus. Sch. 26356-60 (D 212-16) Oxford Bodleian Library for the earliest period, Mss. Add. 31390 and 32377 (fragmentary) British Museum for the earliest and middle period, and Ms. 2 Oxford Christ Church for the last

A general History of the Science and Practice of Music, London, 1776.
 A general History of Music, London, 1776/89.
 History of English Music, London, 1921.
 The Oxford History of Music, Vol. III.

 ⁽⁵⁾ William Byrd, London, 1925.
 (6) Musical Instruments and Their Music, London, 1930.

⁽⁷⁾ His views are summarised in Hilda Andrews' edition of Roger North's The Musicall Gramarian, London, 1925. See also his editions of 2 Innomines by Parsky and Parsons, London, 1923.
(8) A Dictionary of Old English Music, London, 1923. See also Grove's

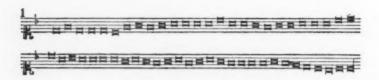
Dictionary

⁽⁹⁾ Orlando Gibbons, London, 1925.

⁽¹⁰⁾ The Sources of Keyboard Music in England, London, 1914.

period. There are in addition a great number of Mss. which contain a few Innomines among numerous Fantasias.(11)

From its appearance to its disappearance (about 1685) the Innomine remained a pure Cantus firmus composition, always with the same 'Tenor' (12):



This Cantus firmus was only occasionally and insignificantly ornamented⁽¹³⁾ and was in some arrangements for keyboard instruments submerged beneath the contrapuntal parts.

The melody has undoubtedly a Gregorian origin. The fact that it received no essential modification throughout the centuries proves that it was 'sacrosanct.' It belongs to the type of melody which is treated by Gevaert in 'La Melopée Antique,' Gand 1895, under 'Thème 6.' From which part of the Gregorian choral it originated and which function in the liturgy it had is still uncertain. The above-mentioned melody (from Gevaert's 'Thème 6') corresponds to the antiphon 'Gloria tibi Trinitas' in the festival of the Holy Trinity, which is almost identical with the Innomine. Here then we find the melody, but the words In Nomine do not appear in the text at all. There is an Innomine by Clemens Woodcock(14) called 'In Nomine Domini'; as ' Domini' is especially mentioned in this case, it would surprise us to discover a connection between the Innomine and the festival in 'In Nomine Jesus Christi,' as some theorists suppose. And yet the great length of the Innomine Cantus firmus and the fact that its form remained always unchanged leads to a supposition that the Innomine might have belonged to the Introitus of this festival, and that it was played as an accompaniment to the entrance of the priests, like the Preludii and Priameln, etc., in other countries. In the earliest epoch this accompaniment would have been executed either by the organ or by various stringed instruments. This use of the Innomine

⁽¹¹⁾ There is a list of the existing Innomines and other instrumental pieces of that time in my book, 'Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord-und Mittel-Europa,' Kassel (Bärenreiter), 1934.

(12) Cantus Firmus.

⁽¹³⁾ Examples see below.
(14) British Museum, Ms. Add. 31390. See also the mentioned book by Roger North, page 7.

accompaniment would have been transferred from this festival to other and greater festivals. The melody of the Innomine accompanying in this way has no connection with the In Nomine Jesus Christi of the Graduals of to-day. I reaffirm that this is only a vague supposition, as I have been unable to find further material to prove it. Besides this the whole text used for the Innomine melody is unknown. Hawkins' opinion that the Innomine traces its origin back to the 'Laetabimur in salutari tuo et in nomine . . .' (19th psalm) is improbable; there is scarcely a note which corresponds, and it is not possible that an instrumentalisation could have developed from this point of the service. For similar reasons it cannot be derived from the short In Nomine of the Ordinarium Missae (Benedictus), as Burney supposed.

Sir Richard Terry assumes the origin of the name 'to be based upon the all-pervading spirit of devotion with which Elizabethan art was instinct, and these instrumental fantasias to have kept as a generic title the phrase In Nomine, whose significance was the motive force of the composer. For the great masters of that period, writing their plainsong fantasias In Nomine domini, to name them In Nomines was so much the outcome of the spirit of everyday life as to be a matter of course.'(15) Though this supposition sounds very plausible, I have been unable to find any proofs for it. On the other hand, the elementarily new phenomenon in the history of music that here for the first time a fixed species and practice of independent instrumental music developed is never explained. Why did the old composers not write these Innomines for vocal parts? Why did they write music ' In the Name of the Lord ' for instruments? Another relation which Charles van den Borren quotes may be mentioned here. Dr. Naylor in his work 'An Elizabethan Virginal Book,' page 177, says that the dialect word 'A nomminy' was for a long time applied to certain religious songs in the north-east of Yorkshire.

The earliest known Innomines seem to be those of John Taverner, written between 1530 and 1550. There followed Whitbroke (ca. 1540), Parsons (died 1569/70), Parsley (died 1585), Woodson (died 1581), Robert White (died 1574), and Christopher Tye, who was the chief composer of Innomines (died 1572). The greatest number of Innomines were written between 1570 and 1600; of the older generation of composers of this period the following wrote Innomines: Alcock, Allison, Brewster, Bucke, Cobbold, Cocke, Eglestone, Edward Gibbons, Alfonso Ferrabosco, sen., Gibbs, Johnson, Mericocke, Henry Mudd, W. Mundy, J. Mundy, Pickforth,

⁽¹⁵⁾ Roger North (ed. Hilda Andrews), page 8, foot note. See also 'A forgotten Psalter and other Essays,' London, 1929, p. 74.

Poynt, Preston, Stanner, Stoninge, Strogers, Tallis, Thorne, Wayser, Work; followed by: William Byrd, John Bull, Orlando Gibbons, Alfonso Ferrabosco, jun., also Weelkes, Elway Bevin, Bawdwine, Cranford, Mico, Will. White, and later still John Milton, Th. Tomkins, J. Ward. The masters born about 1600 (Simon Ives, John Jenkins, William Lawes, Christopher Simpson, George Gill) only accept the Innomine as a subordinate form; for the generation of Locke, Banister and Coleman the Innomine is of still less importance, it appears by that time to be almost obsolete in fact. No more Innomines seem to have been written until nearly twenty-five years later when Henry Purcell wrote his 6 and 7 part Innomines, which he composed most probably from the point of view of historical interest.

There are about 140 Innomines written for various stringed instruments still in existence, far fewer are those written for keyboard instruments. The Innomines for organ or virginal in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, Mulliner's Book, etc., are—with a few exceptions—arrangements of older pieces for chamber music. There are some arrangements for lute in Ms. Dd. II 11 (Cambridge, University Library), including an Innomine-Pavan and Innomine Galliard.

The process of development of the Dutch and Italian instrumental style which resulted in the Sonata, is not unknown in the history of music. The Sonata was developed from the Canzon, a species founded originally on a vocal basis. The Canzon derived from the French Chanson. The Sonata, however, was a purely instrumental piece far removed in form and style from its vocal origin. In England a corresponding development took place; the Innomine and some related forms and the Fantasia were formed by the vocal motet. The Innomine and its related forms were founded stylistically on a vocal basis and were in reality motets played by instruments. The Fantasia, on the other hand, was an instrumental piece, and although it still preserved many principles of the motet in its external formal scheme, it was created quite independently of its vocal origin.

The Innomine was the connecting link between the vocal motet and the Fantasia.

Early in the sixteenth century vocal compositions were being performed by instruments. There are numbers of instrumental pieces alluding to liturgic, madrigalic and similar texts, and this number greatly increased during the latter half of the sixteenth century.

⁽¹⁶⁾ It was influenced, on the other hand, by the continental Recercar (Ricercar), which represented the instrumental motet in Italy, the Netherlands and Germany.

But soon the instrumentalisation advanced far more radically than in Italy. The very early Ms. Add. 31922 Brit. Mus. (time of Henry VIII) contains a piece for four instruments called 'La-my' after its principal motive. In the same Ms. and also in collections of a slightly later date there are similar pieces, 'Fa-La-Sol' and 'Sol-Fa-Ut'; in addition, there are many pieces on the motive 'Ut-Re-Mi-Fa-Sol-La.' These pieces, which are elaborations of very simple motives, are not absolutely vocal in character and represent the stage of transition between the instrumental performance of vocal pieces and the production of pure instrumental pieces, invented with free 'fantasia.' The practice of elaborating instrumental pieces upon 'Solmisation' motives appears to have been quite general at this time. We have proof of this from the large Ms. Add. 31390 Brit. Mus., where we find on the front page: 'A Book of Innomines and other Solfainge Songes of five to eight parts.' This book was written about 1580 and we can gather from it that the Innomine was at that time the chief instrumental form in English ensemble music. The most important fact we learn from this volume is that the purely instrumental pieces were at this period already definitely separated from the vocal pieces represented by instruments. The original liturgic Cantus firmus is here signified as 'Solfainge.' This proves that the Cantus firmus of the Innomine was by now only a musical backbone and was no longer authoritative as a part of the liturgy.

Among the numerous forms which were originally created for voices but later represented by instruments there were two others which followed the Innomine in importance. These were the Miserere and the Browning, a variation form. These three forms were actually written in the same volume by 1580, so we may assume that they had similar functions. We do not find in the English instrumental style the marked separation of the secular-madrigalic origin and the religious-motettical origin that is to be found in the Italian instrumental style. The Miserere, like the Innomine, was derived from the liturgy; the Browning was an old English secular folk-song.

A little later on we find Innomines in company with Fancies and Dance Consorts in all collections. The supposition that the Innomines were still only used in the liturgy of the Church during the second half of the sixteenth century is not plausible. The Innomine was not only a 'music for listeners,' it was a 'music for players,' a real chamber music. The Innomines were at this time evidently played in the Church, at Court and also in the homes of the cultured classes. The arrangement of the parts of the Innomine in the pseudo-score Ms. Add. 31390 Brit. Mus. even seems to indicate that the Innomines

were used principally in Court and Chamber. In this book, which is of great table dimension, the parts are arranged as follows:

This book was laid upon a table so that all the players could see their parts with ease; the music would certainly not have been read in this manner in the Church. From a report by Hawkins⁽¹⁷⁾ we have further proof of this indication; in it we read that John Milton, father of the poet, possessed a golden chain and medal which were presented to him by a Polish Prince, who was a visitor at the Court, for the composition of an Innomine. We know that the earliest Innomines were also played in Church, as some of the principal collections of Innomines were preserved in the old archives of the great Churches and were composed by Church organists. Whether played in Church, in Court or in the home, this was definitely a music of the upper classes and not of the people. It was perhaps also used for teaching purposes, as the name 'Solfainge' seems to indicate. (18)

The function of music in England was quite different from that in Italy, and therefore its practice developed on other lines. From the very beginning the chief point of the Italian Canzon was to produce sensuous emotions through harmonious mass effects and group formations in the instrumentation, as especially displayed by the Venetian orchestra. In England the inclination towards chamber music is An instrumentation with sensational effects was not evident. according to the English taste. The tendencies of chamber music become clearest towards the end of the century in the practice of the Consort, which represented an autonomous instrumental style. A strong preference was given to instruments with moderate sound force, especially to stringed instruments. Very striking is the great number and the heterogeneity of the parts. It was not the intention to enchant the hearer with sound intensity or colour effects, but to trace musical lines. Each part had to retain its individual peculiarity in the whole combination of instruments. The demand for a melodious independence and for individual presentation of each part brought the family of viols into the foreground as early as 1550. About 1600

(17) A general history I, 465, foot-note.
(18) Some of the following statements are based upon earlier research, published in my above-mentioned book, p. 12 ff.

the use of viols is prescribed by the composers; the demand for them was general.

The Innomine was a pure viol composition.

The formal principle of the Innomine is exactly the same as in the vocal Cantus firmus motet. The Cantus firmus or Tenor 'Innomine' represents the scaffolding for the polyphony. The polyphony grows out of one motive. The motet is made up of several motives, they appear one after another and are executed in successive sections or 'strata.' The first motive appears, it is imitated and executed in free fugue and is concluded by a cadence; the second motive appears, it also imitated with fugue following, the third one appears and so on. The Innomine Cantus firmus does not participate at all in the polyphony and figure work of the other parts, it continues its way, always the same. The long notes of the Cantus firmus are only shortened sometimes at the cadences. Purcell's 6 part Innomine-Fantasia is an exception; here the contrapuntal voices imitate, anticipating the beginning of the Cantus firmus motive. (19) Occasionally at the conclusion of a piece the Cantus firmus is drawn along with the quicker movement of the contrapuntal voices and is assimilated by their motives and rhythms. (20)

(19) Henry Purcell, beginning of the 6 part Innomine (Brit. Mus. Add. 30930):



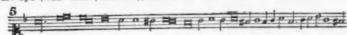
In an Innomine by Chr. Tye (Brit. Mus. Add. 31390) the tenor part begins with an imitation of the Cantus firmus, while the other parts have different subjects:



(20) The beginning of an Innomine (Cantus firmus) by Strogers (Add. 31390, fol. 55b) is:



Chr. Tye (Add. 31390, fol. 26b), in the middle:



The position of the Cantus firmus is not fixed, it is to be found in the Discant, in the Bass or in the inner parts, in early times, however, it was seldom in the outer parts.

The development of style of the Innomine can be divided into three epochs: the first, the dependence on the vocal motet (until 1570), the second, the formation of instrumental style (until 1600), the third, the complete instrumentalisation and the merging into the Fantasia (up to Purcell's death). These divisions must not be considered as hard and fast, we find that their boundaries fluctuate and it is therefore of use to compare the first and third periods.

The essential character of the older Innomines is the motet-like flow of the smooth and equal polyphony, which progresses in quiet vocal notes. The form is similar to the contemporary vocal motet. The Cantus firmus together with the other voices flow in equal sustained tones, the whole motet is scarcely articulated and has a similar uniform character from beginning to end. The contrapuntal voices carry out a free motet around the Cantus firmus, they are executed in strata and always imitate the first notes of the stratum motive; there is no relationship between the Cantus firmus and the other parts. The contrapuntal voices that chime in produce a motive consisting of shorter notes with another ductus. The thematical waves of each voice are greatly extended: the syncopated counterpoint conceals the bar measure and there is a syncopated overlapping of the strata periods. The strata periods are all of very similar character and differ only in their themes which contrast little with each other. E.g.: Parsons, Innomine a 7 (Add. 31390).



5th stratum motive: similar.

The principle of imitation is always present and the imitating 'Comes' could chime in anywhere and be placed in any position, provided the harmony was correct.

The Innomines of the third period no longer possess the motet-like flow of the early ones. The Cantus firmus melody is divided into cadences; for instance a melodical step d—bflat was interpreted as belonging to the key of g minor (d as fundamental tone of the Dominant chord, b flat as the third of the Tonic chord), and the strata are clearly separated from each other by such harmonical cadences as are distinctly audible; after this cadence another stratum appears. That something new is awaited can be quite clearly heard before the closing of the first strata, and the next stratum which follows the cadence fulfils this expectation. It is necessarily of a different character, as otherwise the closing cadence would have been meaningless, but it answers and completes the first stratum. E.g.:

John Ward, Innomine à 6 (Dublin, Marsh's Library, \neq 3.4.1-6.)



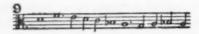
The characters of the strata are contrasting. Lucidity and clearly differentiated structure are growing gradually; the motives and-melodies, too, are changing. In the oldest pieces of the first period the subjects are not particularly characteristic, the melodic continuation contains principally scale fragments, the tone successions are generally in seconds, jumps of fifths or octaves are rare and only appear when a motive is transposed to another octave.

During the third period the motive becomes shorter and more complete, as an idea unto itself. It is organised into small symmetrical segments in sequences which become more and more frequent. We find long chains of sequences made up of small and playful motives already in Gibbons' Innomines:

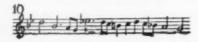
(a5, Oxford, Christ Church, Ms. 2.)



And now a typical vocal theme of the first period: First theme of an Innomine by Taverner (Add. 31390).



And an instrumental theme of the third period:
Beginning of an Innomine by Simon Ives (Add. 17792-6).



The increasing mobility of all parts is very evident, and the instrumentalists need to be virtuosos to play some pieces by Gibbons, Ward, Ferrabosco, jun. As time goes on, repetitions of tones become popular, the range of parts stretches beyond that of singing voices; Gibbons and Ferrabosco, jun., write the b flat and c above the line. We find jumps which are only practicable for instruments and which represent a purely instrumental style. E.g.:

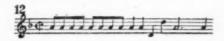


The rhythm becomes manifold and plastic, small instrumental figures become more and more abundant.

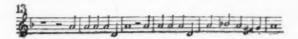
I have described only some of the most important qualities of the specifically instrumental style. The Innomine, of course, received other products of 17th century modernism: the emancipation from the church tones, triumph of major and minor, the more intensive cohesion with the bass. If the Cantus firmus is placed in the bass it takes the function of a harmonic supporting bass; the inner parts often become neglected. The 'Monody' develops from the Discants, imitation is becoming less strict. We find more and more homophonic sections. Often only the direction of the movement of a motive is imitated, but the interval is not always repeated.

The transitional stage between the first and third periods can be seen very distinctly. The dissolution of the neutral motet-like scheme, the most important feature of the new instrumental style, begins tentatively in some works of Tye and Pickforth. One Innomine by Christopher Tye contains only two large strata, which are quite independent of the Cantus firmus melody. The first stratum has 'Tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori' (4/4 time), the second has 'tempus imperfectum cum prolatione majori' (12/8 time). There is a close affinity between the motives of both strata. This is the same principle of succession as in the early 'Variation Suites' by Pavan and Galliard. Each of the two big strata contain several smaller ones which are all executed on the same principal theme. Thus more than 150 years before Bach we find the model on which the later Fugue was based! The principal subject itself was well advanced for the time:

(Add. 31390.)



Such tremolos otherwise belong to the instrumental music of the seventeenth century or to the French Chanson music. In a 5 part Innomine by Parsons there are tone repetitions in a slower movement: (Add. 31390.)



In an Innomine by Pickforth(21) there is a Cantus firmus in breves, four counterpoint parts are added, the first contains only dotted semibreves, the second only simple semibreves, the third only dotted minims, the fourth only simple minims. These rhythms are strictly preserved during the whole piece; a very complicated combination is formed as well as a ductus of each part which is forced to jump wildly, in consequence of its subordination to the Cantus firmus, in order to keep within the rhythm scheme. In such a construction we see a definite moving away from the old strata motet, which was achieved-strangely enough-by the use of an obsolete Netherlandish constructive mode. William Byrd begins to differentiate the characters of the single themes; the fulfilment of that development, the multiplicity of the instrumental music, is to be seen in the Fantasia of the middle of the seventeenth century, and clearer still in the Canzon and Sonata. The mobility of the single parts is seen to be increasing at the time of William Byrd, and even

more with Orlando Gibbons and A. Ferrabosco, jun. Chains of scales are used, polyphony becomes more intricate.

So we see that the Fantasia which after 1600 succeeded the Innomine came into a rich birthright.

From the time of the Innomines to that of Purcell the instrumental style changed completely. The development of the instrumental chamber style, about 1700, out of the vocal polyphony of the sixteenth century is one of the greater revolutions of the history of music. Such a change of styles, tastes and practices could never have come by chance. Happenings in art always proceed in closest touch with the life and the whole social atmosphere of the time. Social, generalcultural, political and economic developments are determining factors. Roger North (1650-1734), in the "Musicall Grammarian," (22) demonstates this in a most striking way: 'And on the other side, If wee consider that times ' (the times of the Innomines .- E.H.M.) ' were peaceable, and men were not so much drawne from home to follow the court, or Citty or to travell, as hath bin since but enjoyed their fortunes plentifully at home, where anything to entertain ye time was welcome; and then such musick being lowd, & variegated, pleased, and never offended.' In a later essay I will endeavour to how how the revolution of musical style and form was connected with the general method of living during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

ERNST HERMANN MEYER.

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU AS A MUSICIAN

Ir Jean Jacques Rousseau had at any time been asked what were the chief interests in his life, he might well have replied 'Music, and Letters.' It is true that Letters, and, one should add, Politics, too, played a much larger part in the latter half of his career than did music. But throughout his life he was always closely concerned with music,—the first money that he ever earned he earned as a copyist of Music;—he continued throughout his career to make money in this way,—the first book that he published was a treatise on music; -a part of his income, 300 francs a year, came from the proceeds of his Dictionnaire de Musique; -while one may note, also, that he made as much money out of his opera 'Le Devin du Village' as he did out of Emile; moreover, he was the accredited musical critic-so to speak-of the Encyclopédistes, and in this capacity conducted, not without applause, an animated and a resounding controversy with Rameau. Dr. Burney when he went to Paris in 1778 thought it the greatest honour to be allowed to visit him; and even in his last days at Ermenonville(1) we find him still active as a copyist-indeed it seems that it was essentially as being a copyist that he was received at this chateau at all-and he was active also, even then, as a composer; and it was there that he wrote his setting of Shakespeare's 'Willow song' from Othello, described by a contemporary as his ' chant du cygne.'

Rousseau, in short, was a figure in the musical world of his day. Burney envisaged him as such, and Boswell envisaged him as such.

The latter, indeed, after a visit to him in 1764, wrote words which are both amusing from the light which they throw upon the character of Boswell and of interest from the fact that they display Boswell's respect for Rousseau as a musician.

^{&#}x27;J'ai un vraye goût,' writes the young Scottish laird—' pour la musique. Je chante assez bien. Je joue un peu de la flûte. Mais je le méprise. Je commençois il y a deux ans d'apprendre le violon, mais je le trouvois si difficile que je le quittais. J'ai mal fait. Dites-moi, ne ferai-je bien de m'appliquer véritablement à la musique, jusques à un certain point? Dites-moi quel doit être mon instrument?'

⁽¹⁾ The estate of the Marquis de Girardin.

At the same time we must confess that there is a distinct break in Rousseau's life on the day on which he began writing his famous prize essay for the academy of Dijon thus starting upon his literary career proper; and that from that day onwards music was no longer, as it had been so far, his primary interest. As Monsieur Julien Tiersot has said, 'la pratique de l'art ne lui sera plus guère qu'un délassement en marge de sa vie.' For he now quite definitely gave up his ambitions as a composer (his opera 'Les Muses Galantes' had just fallen flat) and became hereafter, in so far as music was concerned, chiefly a writer on music. Yet he also kept on composing small works, chiefly songs, from time to time, even while devoting himself principally to literary, political, and social studies.

Thus, though in the second part of his Confessions we find very little mention of music; yet in the ninth book he describes how at the chateau of Madame d'Epinay in 1757: 'Il ye eut des fêtes à la chevrette pour lesquelles je fis la musique '—. . . 'Je donnai pour la fête de M. d'Epinay, l'idée d'une espèce de pièce, moitié drame, moitié pantomime que Mme. d'Epinay composa et dont je fis encore la musique. Grimm, en arrivant, entendit parler de mes succès harmoniques.' And it was at the same time and place that he wrote a motet for solo voice and orchestra—' Ecce sedes hic tonantis '— with the express intention of exhibiting his powers as a composer; since his abilities in this respect appear to have been doubted even by his hostess herself! The motet, however, was a great success; and was later sung at the famous Concerts Spirituels at Paris. (2) But Rousseau has described this whole episode himself:

Il y eut des fêtes à la Chevrette pour lesquelles je fis de la musique. Le plaisir de me faire honneur auprès de Mme. d'Houdetot d'un talent qu'elle aimait excita ma verve; et un autre objet contribuait encore à l'animer, savoir, le désir de montrer que l'auteur du Devin du Village savait la musique: car je m'apercevais depuis longtemps que quelqu'un travaillait en secret à rendre cela douteux, du moins quant à la composition. Mon début à Paris, les épreuves où j'y avais été mis à diverses fois, tant chez M. Dupin que chez M. de La Popelinière; quantité de musique que j'y avais composée pendant quatorze ans au milieu des plus célèbres artistes, et sous leurs yeux; enfin l'opéra des Muses galantes, celui même du Devin, un motet que j'avais fait pour Mlle. Fel, et qu'elle avait chanté au Concert spirituel; tant de conférences que j'avais eues sur ce bel art avec les plus grands maîtres, tout semblait devoir prévenir ou dissiper un pareil doute. Il existait cependant, même à la Chevrette, et je voyais que

⁽²⁾ For which Mozart later wrote his famous Paris symphony, and his Symphonie Concertante for four wind instruments and orchestra, and for which Haydn wrote a number of his symphonies.

M. d'Epinay n'en était pas exempt. Sans paraître m'apercevoir de cela, je me chargeai de lui composer un motet pour la dédicace de la chapelle de la Chevrette, et je le priai de me fournir des paroles de son choix. Pour cette fois, le dépit fut mon Apollon, et jamais musique plus étoffée ne sortit des mes mains. Les paroles commencent par ces mots: Ecce sedes hic Tonantis. La pompe du début répond aux paroles, et toute la suite du motet est d'une beauté de chant qui frappa tout le monde. J'avais travaillé en grand orchestre. D'Epinay rassembla les meilleurs symphonistes. Mme. Bruna, chanteuse italienne, chanta le motet, et fut bien accompagnée. Le motet eut un si grand succès qu'on l'a donné dans la suite au Concert spirituel, où, malgré les sourdes cabales et l'indigne exécution, il a eu deux fois les mêmes applaudissements.

This was in 1757; in the middle period of Rousseau's life. But his active interest in music had of course begun in very early days. In 1729 he was singing in the choir of the Cathedral at Annecy, and he often made music with the choirmaster, Lemaitre. And about the same time we find him, after only eight or ten music lessons from Madame de Warens, studying a cantata of Clérambault with intense 'application et . . . obstination.' In 1737, moreover, he is studying the 'Bontempi' and the 'Cartella musicale' of Banchieri, which, he says, 'me donnèrent du goût pour l'histoire de la musique et pour les recherches théoriques de ce bel art.' Moreover, later, just before his arrival in Paris in 1742, he tells us 'je n'avais pas abandonné la musique en cessant de l'enseigner; au contraire j'en avais assez étudié la théorie pour pouvoir me regarder au moins comme savant dans cette partie.'

But we should probably be right in considering that his studies had not actually been very profound, judging by his subsequent compositions however much M. Tiersot⁽³⁾ may insist to the contrary.

In the following year, however, he starts setting himself up as a teacher of music at Lausanne, and, to show his skill, composes, produces, and conducts a work of chamber music of his own, without having the least idea of what it will sound like, until all present are appalled by the wild cacophony of the sounds. His description of this scene of inspired charlatanism is too famous to need quotation here. (4)

It was evident, then, that Rousseau knew very little about music yet. Nevertheless he went on with the idea of being a teacher of it. Monsieur Tiersot says, indeed, 'Pour apprendre la musique que fit il? tout simplement il l'enseigna.'

He was not, indeed, very successful with his teaching, and after

^{(3) &}quot;Jean Jacques Rousseau, musicien."
(4) Vide "Confessions," Book I.

leaving Lausanne and returning a little later, he found that his old pupils would not come back to him.

We find him soon, however, beginning his long career as a copyist of music; and of copying, at least, he made a great success throughout his life. Indeed, he treated copying almost as an art in itself. And it is noticeable that in his famous Dictionary of Music he devotes no less than twelve folio pages to the word Copiste, as compared with nine to the word Harmonie, and only a little over a page to the word Contrepoint.

But, meanwhile, at about the age of twenty, he attempted, it would seem, to make a more serious study of composition and musical history. And it was at this period that he looked into the works of Banchieri and others, as well as into the famous treatise of Rameau. The results, as were subsequently proved, were but meagre as regards technical proficiency. But in 1737 there already appears in the Mercure de France a song with words and music of Rousseau, and at about the same time he wrote two unfinished dramatic pieces.

A wider scene, however, was now opening to him on his arrival in Paris in 1741, and on his presentation to the Academy of sciences of his treatise on a new system of musical notation. One need not linger over this. The book is of little importance. (5) But one may note that it was the outcome rather of Rousseau's incapacity than of his genius. Since it really sprang from his own inability to master the art of music (6) from a study of books written in reference to the usual, and only sane, method of notation.

Despite the ill success of his *Projet*, however, Rousseau published an explanation of it in 1743 in his 'Dissertation sur la musique moderne'; and thus his first public appearance as an author was as a writer on music.

Not long after this, moreover, he appears, on his return from a tour to Venice (in the company of patrons), as the composer of a small ballet, 'Les Muses Galantes.' It was performed at a private house in Paris in the presence of Rameau, who, however, declared, that though part of it was the work of a consummate musician, part was that of a complete ignoramus. It seems, indeed, that Rousseau was suspected—not for the last time—of plagiarism. Rameau wrote that Rousseau 'n'avait fait que la musique française et avait pillé l'italienne.' But in any case the score is of little importance musically.

⁽⁵⁾ Though Morley claims that it foreshadowed the modern sol-fa method. Vide Morley's Rousseau, Book I., p. 291.
(6) 'En réflechissant à la peine que j'avais eue d'apprendre à dechiffrer la note, et . . . à chanter a livre ouvert.' Conf. I.

Meanwhile he was seeing more and more of the social life of Paris. He had come to know Grimm and Diderot; and was soon enjoying the patronage of the Due de Richelieu, who tried to get his ballet performed at court; and who later commissioned him to touch up, and to make additions to, an opera by Voltaire and Rameau—'La Princesse de Navarre.' But the result was not good. Rousseau, therefore, for the time being ceased to strive for success as a composer of large works; though we hear of him writing, for the Comte de Franceuil (to whom he was secretary), 'plusieurs trios à chanter, pleins d'une assez forte harmonie.'

But in 1748 the Encyclopédie was already beginning to appear. And Rousseau, as is well known, wrote the articles on music for this famous work, and thereby involved himself in some vehement but not particularly interesting disputes with Rameau, who was a little impatient at the cock-sure superficiality of our hero's remarks. And no doubt Rousseau's articles were full of faults; but they were not lacking in freshness and originality; and hence were interesting. And he improved and extended them in later years, making them into his famous 'Dictionnaire de Musique,' which was finished in 1764 and published in 1767. (7) Soon after this, however, Rousseau came to that dividing line in his life of which we have already spoken. For he now wrote his famous essay on the 'Progress of the Arts and Sciences . . .," and from henceforth was to devote himself primarily to literature; in an art which he was soon to become a monarch, while remaining in the world of music little more than a distinguished commoner-or perhaps one might even say, an inspired beggar. Yet it was still as a copyist of music that he decided to work in order to obtain some little financial support in the quiet existence which he was now to lead, while pursuing more thoroughly his literary interests; and a copyist he remained until the end of his life.

But, strange to say, it was now, just as he had decided to make literature and not music the principal inferest of his life, that Rousseau achieved his greatest musical success—' Le Devin du Village.'

Actually he had written this little opera, almost, as one might say, in spite of himself, and as a means of passing the time, during a visit to a friend's country house at Passy. And yet, as the result of it, he was soon to wake up and find himself famous—he was to witness the performance of it before the King and the court at Fontainebleau;

⁽⁷⁾ Dr Burney thought highly of Rousseau's critical writings; though, of course, he would have included others of his works besides the Dictionnaire. But in any case he writes to Fanny Burney, as we shall see later, praising them greatly.

—he was to be summoned, as a consequence of this, to an audience with Louis XV himself (which, however, he declined);—he was to become a noted French composer almost in a night;—and he was to add to the repertoire of French opera a work which was destined to remain prominent there for at least three quarters of a century.

Nor were the performances of 'Le Devin . . .' confined to France. For in 1765 Dr. Burney himself translated the work into English under the title of 'The Cunning Man,' and had it performed thus in London, 'adjusted to his (Rousseau's) original music.' In fact, Miss Burney tells us that her father's 'first actual essay 'was'. . . translating and adapting to the stage, the little pastoral afterpiece of Rousseau, 'Le Devin du Village.'(8)

We note that Miss Burney terms it 'an afterpiece 'not 'a masterpiece,'-an Angle not an angel, so to speak. But to hear Rousseau himself on the subject, one might almost think it was indeed a masterpiece. It was certainly not that. But it was important, because it represented a new departure on the French operatic stage, if it did nothing else; though actually it did do something else, for it had a certain simple charm of its own, or at least many people have thought it had. But its chief significance was its novelty. For it was natural, simple, and straightforward, it dealt with a homely subject, and in it the music was the companion to, and not the tyrannical master over, the words. As Dr. Hirschberg observes, its naîve and graceful melodies stood in 'wohl tuenden Gegensatz zu dem hochtrabenden, leeren Pathos der damaligen französischen grossen Oper' and so gave people's ears and nerves a welcome rest. And in this connection one naturally calls to mind that Rousseau was one of the most ardent of the admirers of the new and natural Italian opera, opera buffa one might say, as contrasted with the stately, but unbending, and unreal traditional French opera-type of Lulli's would-be successors; and also one remembers that it was Rousseau who was responsible for the first printing of Pergolese's so famous 'La Serva Padrona.'

It has, indeed, sometimes been considered odd that Rousseau, the impassioned advocate during the 'Guerre des Bouffons' of the Italian music and language as opposed to the French, should himself have written a French opera. He himself confesses the paradox—' ja n'ai fait que de la Musique Francaise et n'aime que l'Italienne '(9); yet in actual fact there was more affinity, surely, between his 'Devin . . .' and the Italian comic operas of the day, than between his work and those of Rameau or of the other French writers of that time. For of

⁽⁸⁾ Life of Dr. Burney, Vol. I, p. 165.
(9) Dict. de Mus., p. 178.

Grétry and his school Rousseau was the precursor not the follower. Historically then 'Le Devin du Village' was, and is, important. It is more difficult, however, to appraise its intrinsic value. Grétry seems to have admired it, -for what it is, -a light, slight, and simple little work. But several modern writers have gone beyond this and have spoken of it even with enthusiasm, urging, as does Mr. Jeffrey Pulver. that it has 'some really charming melodies and much grace '(10); or referring, as does Dr. Hirschberg, to the 'immerhin beachtenswerte Musik zum Devin du Village,' and to its 'leicht einschmeichelnden Melodien nach Art der italienischen Intermezzi'; or describing one movement, as does Monsieur Tiersot, as an 'aimable et fin rondo,' and saying that another 'fait penser à tel air de Scarlatti.' While even Gluck, on hearing it, is reported to have remarked to Salieri, 'Nous aurions fait autrement et nous aurions eu tort.'(11)

Nevertheless, from a study of the score, one is inclined to think that these praises have been somewhat over generous. For after all, quite apart from the little defects of harmony—unsuitable basses and so on-which mark the work, its numbers appear on the whole to be more insipid than charming. For if they are like folk-songs they are like the dullest sort of folk-songs, and if they are like Couperin(12) they certainly represent him nodding. For simplicity in music is only a negative quality. And this indeed the 'Devin' possesses. But one has only to compare it with 'Bastien and Bastienne' (written when Mozart was twelve, or with Haydn's 'The Apothecary' to feel the difference between the inspired and the trivial; in short, between music and 'a tinkling cymbal.'

Perhaps, however, the charmingly eighteenth century estimate of Fanny Burney is as fair an account of this famous work as one could ever find or make; for she describes it as a work that 'from its simplicity and the sweetness of its melody, was peculiarly fitted to refine the public taste among the middle classes; while it could not fail to give passing pleasure even to the highest.'(13)

Paradoxical, however, as it seemed that Rousseau's greatest musical success should have come just as his chief interest was turning from music to literature, it seemed equally paradoxical, as we have already hinted, that he should write a French opera just as he was appearing as the champion of the Italian music, and operatic methods, against

⁽¹⁰⁾ In Musical Opinion, December, 1934.

⁽¹¹⁾ c.f. Gluck in Mercure de France, 1753. 'L'accent de la nature est la langue universelle: M. Rousseau l'employé aire le plus grand succés dans le genre simple. Son "Devin du Village" est un modèle qu'ancun auteur n'a encore imité.'

(12) Vide Tiersot's comparison.

⁽¹³⁾ Memoirs of Dr. Burney, I, 165.

the French. For the famous Guerre des Bouffons or war of the two schools of music-the stately solid French school against the lighter but more melodious Italian-had just been started by an Italian invasion of French territory, in the shape of a season of Italian opera in Paris, beginning with 'La Serva Paurona' of Pergolese, performed on August 2nd, 1752. And in the violent war of pamphlets which thereupon ensued, Rousseau, of course, distinguished himself by his impassioned advocacy of 'the new music.' He had already, indeed, appeared as a critic of Rameau in his 'Lettre à M. Grimm' of 1752; but in his famous 'Lettre sur la musique française' of 1753 he attacks French music itself wholesale; swears that the French language is essentially unmusical; declares that French singing 'n'est qu'un aboiement continuel'; and sets all Paris in an uproar. No less than sixty-five works, indeed, not including anonymous ones, are said to have been written apropos of the 'Letter . . .' And for once, perhaps, Rousseau's estimate, in the Confessions, of his own importance is not exaggerated.

With the 'Lettre d'un Symphoniste,' moreover, of the same year, he attacked not only French music but also French executive powers, and the orchestra of the opera. And the result of all this violence, wit, and vituperation was that Rousseau was burned in effigy by his infuriated enemies, and deprived of that right of free entry to the opera house which he had so recently won through the success of his 'Devin . . .'

This is no place to examine in detail Rousseau's arguments in the great controversy. But there was much reason, as Grimm remarks, as well as some nonsense in his criticism of French opera; while in his advocacy of the more simple, more melodious, and more natural Italian school he certainly deserves the glory due to a pioneer in the discovery of the great continent of music, so to speak, from whose shores such rich treasurers were to be brought back by the rising generation, and amongst others by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. (14)

In connection with these writings of Rousseau during the Guerre des Bouffons one magirefer also to his 'Essai sur les Langues,' written, it seems, in 1760; in which he returns to a consideration of

⁽¹⁴⁾ For a full discussion of Mozart's debt to Italy, especially in regard to opera, see Abert's Mozart, as well as Wyezewa, and Saint Foix's work on Mozart. And compare Torrefranca's elaborate treatise 'Le Origine del Romanticismo.' Vernon Lee's picturesque and learned 'Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy' is another most valuable work which reveals the importance of the Italian opera buffa of that time for the whole history of music. And all these researches should, surely, tend to enhance the reputation of Rousseau for critical acumen, since he was one of the first men outside Italy itself to appreciate fully the importance of her contribution to music at this time.

what music is; of its connection with words; of the relative importance of melody and harmony, etc.; all matters which had come up for consideration both in the course of his campaigns during the Guerre des Bouffons and in those little skirmishes with Rameau which had arisen, first over his new method of notation, and then over his articles in the Encyclopædia; articles which Rameau had declared to be full of errors, and which Rousseau attempted to defend in his ' Examen des deux Principes de M. Rameau,' written in 1755, but not published until after Rameau was safely dead.

Of Rousseau's remaining musical compositions we can say very little. We have not seen the MS. or other copies of his motets 'Salve regina' (1752), 'Ecce sedes hic tonantis' (1757), 'Quam dilecta tabernacula' (1767), 'Quomodo sedet sola civitas' (1772), and 'Principes persecuti sunt' (date unknown), and we will not be so unkind as to form any suppositions as to their value from our knowledge of other works of his.

For the rest, his unfinished opera, 'Daphnis and Chloé,' is of no particular merit or interest. (15) 'Les Muses Galantes' we have not seen. But we have Rameau's opinion of it, and that not a very favourable one. 'Pygmalion,' however (1770), a lyrical scene for the stage, partly by Rousseau but very largely by one Horace Coignet, is of some significance, since it represents an attempt to write a 'melodrama,' or play spoken (not sung) to the accompaniment of music; and, as Monsieur Tiersot observes, 'c'était là une conception nouvelle et d'une nouveauté vraiment hardie. . . .' Mozart is said to have wished to attempt the same form of art. And Beethoven to some extent has done so, and with great success, in his fine, but too little known, music to Egmont. It was a form, indeed, in which Goethe (16) himself was much interested. Rousseau then undoubtedly deserves attention as being a pioneer in this direction; though he himself owns that, at that time at any rate, only Gluck was capable of undertaking a work of this sort. 'Et je voudrais bien,' he says, 'qu'il daignât s'en charger.'(17)

But yet one more of Rousseau's musical works may deserve a word

⁽¹⁵⁾ Though it has one or two attractive numbers.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Though it has one or two attractive numbers.
(16) Goethe calls Pygmalion 'ein kleines, aber meekwürdig epochemachendes werk.' ('Wahrheit und Dichtung.' III.)
(17) On February 27, 1773, the Abbé Eatanni reported from Naples a performance of 'Pygmalion' to Madame de l'Epernay. (Corr. II., p. 179.)
'Pour petite piece, on donna ce "Pygmalion" avec sa statue, moitié prose, moitié musique, monstre du genie de Rousseau. Cette nouveanté partagen les avis. I y ent qui furent extrêment trappés de la statue, ponceque ce'st, en veritié, une Mademoiselle Tessier qui, sans être fille, est fort intéressante par sa figure. Le reste s'ennuva.' par sa figure. Le reste s'ennuya.'

of notice—his posthumously published collection of original songs, airs and duets, etc., entitled 'Les Misères et Consolations de ma vie.'

This work, described as a 'Receuil d'Airs, Romances, et Duos,' contains ninety-five numbers in all, ranging from the very simplest melodies with pianoforte accompaniment, and sometimes with very little even of that, up to quite elaborate Duets, developed with a certain amount of skill, and sometimes accompanied by strings as well as by the pianoforte. Some of these numbers might be worth reviving. For they are often quite competent pieces of work, even if they lack the stamp of genius.

One may add that here in this last production of Rousseau's pen the motif of Nature again appears. For the book has a handsome title page, engraved with a bust of the great man, surrounded with scrolls on which are written the titles of most of his writings; but the motto on the bust is from Montaigne and runs, 'Nature est doux guide: Je queste partout sa piste: nous l'avons confondue de traces artificielles.' Meanwhile in the 'Avis de l'éditeur' we are told that 'Monsieur Rousseau adoucissait les chagrins que lui occasionait sa celebrité en étudiant la Botanique, et en composant de la Musique.'

Thus, then, we may picture him in his latter days, with music as still one of the chief 'consolations' of his chequered career.

H. V. F. SOMERSET.

DANTE'S RELATION TO MUSIC

We are not accustomed to think of Dante as a musical theorist. Indeed we should be surprised to see him included in a history of mediæval musical theory. Dante is to all of us primarily a poet, the most representative genius the middle ages produced. Yet that very fact enhances the importance of his relation to music, for actually he did make a few observations of interest to musical history, if not to practical song-writers of our own day. It is true he did not write any treatise entirely devoted to the musical theory or practice of the middle ages. The remarks that chiefly interest us in this connection are to be found in his writing on poetry. But because they are the words of a poet and of such a representative and purely literary man they are a clue to the relations of poetry and music at that period; and the relations of these cousins must always be of prime importance in discussing either literary form and content or vocal music, which was for all practical purposes the only music in the middle ages.

It is always necessary to see a writer or composer against the background of his own period; and this is especially true of one who had the kind of universal appeal that Mr. T. S. Eliot has justly attributed to Dante; a kind of universality Mr. Eliot has shown to be peculiarly characteristic of his age and impossible for such a different writer as Shakespeare, whose conditions imposed on him a more limited, though by no means an inferior, kind of appeal. For Dante's language and thought alike are the highest expression of a common civilisation that united the whole of western Christendom as it has never been united since. His relation to music, too, is that of mediæval literature as a whole. His personal relation was not particularly close, but as a creature of his time he indicates the bonds holding the two arts together.

Students of any literature before the seventeenth century must constantly be aware of the comparative smallness of the reading public and must avoid judging literary conditions from printed books only. Because the illiterate had no books it does not follow that they had no literature. They inherited a vast common heritage of legend and romance. Much of this traditional culture was in verse, and was therefore always associated with music. The minstrel was a common figure throughout the middle ages, and the balladmonger of

Elizabethan times, who hawked his wares round with a fiddle or viol, was his legitimate though disreputable descendant. Older than the minstrel even there was also the oral poetry that came from the dance. Many mediæval writers describe the caroles and rondes in which the chorus sang an unvarying refrain while soloists gradually improvised additions. Nor was all this popular poetry without influence on the more learned verse of the time. It is well known that refrains in the troubadour lyrics often come from these primitive communal dance improvisations. The fact is that even the most aristocratic lyric was bound to be influenced by popular verse, not only because social conditions drew all classes together, but also because the aristocratic lyric, like the popular, was sung rather than spoken. Indeed this is a fact to be remembered in studying the lyric right up the seventeenth century, for even then the poems of Suckling and Lovelace commonly bear at their heads 'Set by Mr. Henry Lawes' or some such direction, and we know that songs were heard by more people than read them. The troubadours in the period we are concerned with specifically intended to give equal place to the verse of their lyrics and to the 'son,' as the musical setting was called. This is amusingly illustrated by the story of the two troubadours who had a contest to decide which was the better poet. They were shut up in adjacent rooms and told to compose a lyric each. One of them could find no inspiration, but just when he was giving the competition up as lost he heard a lovely song coming from the next room. It was his rival trying over his attempt. The baffled poet listened and memorised the effort. When the contest came he managed to secure the first trial and confounded his rival by singing the air he had heard from the next room.

We can see, then, that poetry in Dante's world was inextricably involved with music, whether it was popular poetry or learned. Dante himself derived his poetic style to a great extent from the troubadours and acknowledges particular debt to Arnaud Daniel. He was moreover well acquainted with music and his own lyrics were set to music, though not by himself. In part of the Purgatorio he meets a dead friend Casella, who was a prominent Florentine musician of the time. Casella sings his setting of one of the lyrics in the Convivio ('Amor che nelle mente mi ragiona'), and we possess an old MS. of one of Dante's songs beside which the scribe has commented: 'Casella diede il suono.' Dante, then, represents an advance on the troubadours in being more entirely a poet and not a setter of his own verses; but he obviously shared their views as to the desirability of setting lyrics to music. His greater independence of music is due to his great work

being speech poetry modelled on classical antiquity and not arising from the conditions of contemporary diffusion of poetry by means of music. When he comes to talk of shorter poems in the vulgar tongue, as he does in his treatise De Vulgari Eloquentia, he fully shares the contemporary theory and practice about the interdependence of music and poetry. Poetry to him is nothing else but 'a rhetorical composition set to music' (op. cit., trans. Howell, p. 65). Strictly speaking he will not admit any kind of poetry that is not intended for a musical setting. 'Whatever we write in verse,' he declares, 'is a Canzone' (i.e., a song). Nevertheless, the term is becoming restricted by his time, for works of the magnitude of the Divine Comedy are no longer declaimed to the strumming accompaniment of the minstrel. The song affinities of poetry persist explicitly in the lyric, and this has two main divisions—there is the kind that is sung and the kind that is danced and sung at the same time, for the dance song we have already mentioned was still actually a dance song at that time, and in Boccaccio we often catch glimpses of courtly figures disporting themselves with dancing to the music of their own voices and sometimes with instruments added. Yet of these two genres, both essentially musical. Dante has no doubt that the purely musical has the greater artistic merit. The form technically known as Canzone 'is of higher merit than the rest, for Canzone produce by their own power the effect they ought to produce, which Ballate do not, for they require the assistance of the performers for whom they are written.' The fact is, according to Dante, that the Canzone is the highest type of music or poetry because it is 'pure song.' We have evidently to do with the standards of both musical and poetical virtue that scarcely envisage a separate judgment on the two partners: the ideal is to have both excellent and both perfectly matched in their union. For this reason Dante cannot place the Sonnet or the Ballata on a level with the Canzone, since their music is to him more popular and less polished. The Sonnet especially requires only a minimum of art in the composer, ' for no one doubts that Ballate excel Sonnets in nobility of form ' (a surprising statement to those who think of the sonnet in terms of its position in the Petrarchan revival of the sixteenth century). On the other hand, the music alone will not suffice to elevate a work to the highest class; the text is equally important. 'No music alone is ever called a Canzone, but a Sound, a Tone, or a Note, or Melody.' Hence we must perceive that in the Canzone we are dealing with a work that is both music and poetry, or perhaps we should say neither music nor poetry but an amalgam of both. 'And therefore a Canzone appears to be nothing else but the completed action of one writing words set to music.'

Since music and poetry were so interdependent in Dante's time, we feel bound to enquire which was the senior partner. Did poetry determine the form or did music? It has usually been held that poetry was the senior partner, and there is a general belief that musical form as a separate and self-conscious thing dates no further back than the seventeenth century. It is indeed true that the madrigal and all musical species up to that time are built on the song form in which each strain of music corresponds to a line of poetry, and the fugal method of developing the strains does not conceal the underlying basis. But the correspondence of musical and poetical form does not necessarily mean that musical form did not exist. Usually the poet wrote a metrical scheme and left the musician to copy it; but not always. Sometimes the poet had to follow an existing tune, and even when he had not to do that he still had often to remember the exigencies of the musical style he was preparing his lines to receive. Moreover, even during the middle ages music had begun to draw on the dance for rhythm and form. The literary genres of the middle ages that arose from the ronde dances of the Romance peoples were musical rather than literary forms. The principle of all of them was originally that a soloist improvised verses in alternation with an unvarying refrain from the chorus. 'Binnorie, O Binnorie' is a wellknown British ballad that has obviously had the same origin, since the second and fourth lines of each stanza are unvaried throughout. In such pieces it was clearly the shape of the music, the tune the people sang, that was most important, and the poetry merely fitted into it.

Dante appears to consider the music as the determinant of the lyric's form. In his own case he wrote the poems before the music had been conceived: he did not compose both music and poetry together as many of his contemporaries did and as Campion was to do later, and we have no evidence of his writing any poem to an existing tune. Nevertheless he insists that the form of the poem must follow the outline of the musical setting that it is expected to receive. 'It will become plain,' he says, ' how the art of the Canzone depends on the division of the Musical Setting,' and ' it appears to us that what we call the Arrangement (of the parts of the stanza) is the most important section of what belongs to the art (of the Canzone): for this depends on the Musical Setting, the putting together of the lines, and the relation of the rhymes.' 'We say then that every stanza is set for the reception of a certain Ode (i.e., Melody).' This does not mean, apparently, that the form of the stanza is fixed by an existing tune to which the words are written, but rather than the structure of the stanza must be prepared for a certain musical style in the tune, every kind of Canzone having its own particular kind of tune. Indeed the moulding of the stanza to the requirements of musical setting appears to be done in different ways, for some proceed to one continuous Ode—that is without the repetition of any musical phrase—and without any Dieresis, a transition from one ode to another: and we understand by Dieresis, a transition from one ode to another: this, when speaking to the common people, we call Volta. And this kind of stanza was used by Arnauld Daniel in almost all his Canzoni, and we have followed him in ours beginning—

"Al poco giorno ed al gran cerchio d'ombra." '

Dante's example makes it clear that he refers to the structure we are familiar with in folk-song and in the songs of the English lutenists -a continuous melody whose cadences and rhythmical plan corresponds to the rime-scheme of the poetry. It is difficult in this case to decide whether the music or the poetry first gave rise to the form. But the next case is that in which a distinct break occurs in the melody. 'But there are some stanzas that admit of a Dieresis, and there can be no Dieresis (in our sense of the word) unless a repetition of one ode be made either before the Dieresis, or after or both.' That is to say, if a break occurs in the middle and the stanza is set to two complete melodies-presumably the first half of stanza being set to a tune built round one melodic phrase and the second half on one built round a contrasting one-then we may have the forms A B. AAB, ABB, or AABB. 'If the repetition takes place before the Dieresis, we say that the stanza has Feet; and it ought to have two. though sometimes (but very rarely) we find three. If the repetition takes place after the Dieresis, then we say the stanza has Verses. If there is no repetition before the Dieresis, we say that the stanza has a Fronte; if there is none after, we say that it has Syrmas or Coda.' An example will perhaps make this clearer; and we shall choose one from Middle English. This lyric repeats the tune in both halves of the stanza and so the first half, or Fronte, is divided into two Feet, and the second half, or Syrma (Coda) into two Verses.

Lenten is come with love to toune,
With blosmen and with briddes roune,
That al this blisse bringeth.

Payes-eyes in this dales
Notes suete of nyhtegales;

Foot

A

Uch foul song singeth.

The threstelcoc him threteth oo; Away is here wynter woo, When woderove springeth.	} Verse	В
This foules singeth ferly fele Ant wlyteth on huere wynter wele, That al the wode ryngeth (1)	Verse	В

This type of stanza, which has innumerable variants on the lines already indicated, was very common in mediæval lyrics, and Dante's remarks make it quite plain that in composing it poets were not indulging their ear for poetic rhythm but were writing to fit an accepted kind of musical form. Their dependence on music is even more obvious in lyrics closer to the dance. In the various kinds of rondeau so popular throughout the middle ages, and all derived from primitive Romance dances, the words are repeated for no literary purpose at all but simply in accordance with musical repetitions based on dance figures. As an example we may take Chaucer's well-known roundel, Merciles Beaute, which was probably written to music of de Machaut.

	Musical Themes
Your yen two wol slee me sodenly, I may the beaute of hem not sustene,	} A
So woundeth hit through-out my herte kene.	В
And but your word wol helen hastily My hertes wounde, whyl that hit is grene,	} A
Your yen two wol sley slee me sodenly, I may the beaute of hem not sustene.	A
Upon my trouthe I sey yow feithfully, That ye ben of my lyf and deeth the quene;	} A
For with my deeth the trouthe shal be sene	В
Your yen two wol slee me sodenly,	} A
I may the beaute of hem not sustene, So woundeth hit through-out my herte kene	в. В

In a poem like this the repetitions clearly add no force to the text. They spring from a conventional musical pattern stylised on a dance figure.

In criticising poetry so consciously modelled on musical forms it is useless to employ the concepts applicable to the modern lyric. The

⁽¹⁾ Chambers & Sidgwick, Early English Lyrics, p. 8.

form of the poetry Dante discusses has practically no relation to the content; it has scarcely even a verbal music of its own, such as we are accustomed to find in Shelley or Swinburne. Only when these lyrics of the middle ages are wedded to their music are they complete and as their creators imagined them. Music was not a background to the poetic genius of Dante and his successors up to the sixteenth century; it was an integral part of it. This must be remembered especially in discussing the lyrics of the period, but it is relevant to any discussion of poetry. It is not without interest, for example, in considering why the form and the rhythm of the Divine Comedy are what they are and not like those of Paradise Lost, the product of an age following Shakespeare's speech verse and almost contemporary with the speech lyric of Donne.

BRUCE PATTISON.

EMOTION IN PERFORMANCE

Nor so very long ago to be called an 'intelligent musician' was extremely high praise for a violinist. It is certainly true that the violin-playing composer of the classical period and the composing violinist who succeeded him both produced their effects by expressing in their playing the emotional content of their own works. Before the development of the school of interpretative violinists, which inevitably put an end to their composing, the intellectual qualities of the players do not seem to have mattered at all. Nearly all extant descriptions of the great violinists of the past deal exclusively with the emotional side of their art and relate how they stirred and touched their hearers and could carry them away by the force of their emotion. This was the standard by which their playing was judged. They exploited the whole gamut of emotions from the tragic and heroic to the gay and humorous and even found means to express the mysterious and demoniac.

We realise the power of this emotionalism by its effect on the audiences, who reacted in a manner that appears strange to us to-day and seems to have vanished with the art of that remote period. We read that 'it was impossible to describe the tenderness of Nardini's playing. Cold and self-controlled princes and court ladies were seen to weep when he played an Adagio.' When Viotti played at a concert arranged for him by Parisian musicians 'loud sobbing was heard in the hall as soon as he played his first note.' It is said of Rode that he even surpassed his master in 'gentleness and delicacy of playing.' Fétis writes of Kreutzer: 'His rich and passionate individuality lent his performances great originality of expression, giving him also the power of always rousing emotion in any audience—and in this he is excelled by none.' The feelings that Paganini's playing could evoke were re-echoed in countless hearts:

'You've thrilled me with your passionate art Enthralling me with strains of frenzied grief; With fancies strange and weird you've wrung my heart, And filled my soul with joy beyond belief.'

wrote Holtei, and faithfully reproduced in his poem the impression made on thousands of listeners. Of Spohr we read in Rochlitz' book: 'His character is on big lines and inclines to revery and gentle melancholy,' and the author goes on to praise the fire, tenderness and sincerity of his emotion.

Lack of genuine, movingly expressed emotion was the fault that critics attacked above every other. Thus old Quantz, the flute teacher of Frederick the Great, reproached Tartini because his playing was not sufficiently touching. Baillot, Viotti's pupil, is accused of 'artificial and insincere performance.' People even generalised this charge and declared that all French violinists produced mere imitations of passion and lyricism, although they gave really artistic expression to wit and intelligence. Indeed, any sign of intellect in playing was considered unworthy of an artist. Spohr's noble and dignified style was held up as an example to the gifted musician David, while the 'intellectual calculated refinement' of his own interpretations were, as was his eclecticism, described as 'forced and exaggerated mannerisms.'

As long as concert violinists mainly performed their own compositions, there was little danger of their making mistakes in the expression, for emotion of a very personal kind was the chief characteristic of the works that they wrote for their instrument. On the other hand they were so profoundly convinced of the difficulty of bringing out in their rendering the whole emotional content of a work by another, that they confined themselves as far as possible to their own. The modern interpretative artist, on the contrary, considers it to be his duty not only to master the technique of any composition but also to 'feel' works of the most varied type. The better he carries out this duty, the more he is obliged to suppress his own individuality, with the result that his art inevitably loses much of its power of convincing. That audiences are not much more clearly aware of this is due to the fact that in course of time they have grown accustomed to certain stereotyped renderings of the classics that they hear again and again.

At one time the emotional content of works for the violin was quite obvious and could always evoke the proper response in the mind of the player. Whether an artist wrote a 'Concert Militaire' or a 'Scène Pastorale' simply depended on his own temperament. He could be true to himself and honestly express the emotions that represented his character, which in some cases might be sufficiently comprehensive to include even strongly contrasted moods, producing especially striking results.

The decay of the essentially musical art of improvisation shows how few of our violinists to-day rely on their own powers of invention. It is extremely rare to find a violinist who can improvise on his instrument, although one would imagine that it would inspire him to do so. Indeed one cannot but observe how helpless most players are when they want to test the tone of a strange instrument; after a few pathetic attempts at improvisation they quickly drop into phrases and passages from the familiar pieces of their repertoire. At such a moment they cannot help feeling, consciously or unconsciously, their lack of an accomplishment that would enable them to give expression to their own individuality. When they improvised, artists used to give play to their most intimate emotions, which were evoked by the sound of the instrument, and indeed their choice of that instrument generally depended on whether they found it responded to their feelings and helped to express them.

During the period when emotional cantabile playing was the supreme aim and criterion of the art of the violin, violinists felt the 'shape' of a melody as singers do. The absence of marks of expression in old works proves that a thorough training added to their unspoilt instinct to a large extent took the place of the work of our present-day editors. Musicians knew 'how to say a phrase,' all the more certainly because the character and form of the composition enabled them immediately to recognise its emotional content, and because the rules were fixed and unchanging.

The development of music and above all the increasing predominance of the harmonic element has brought about a radical change in the situation. The violinist can now only play a subordinate part in the more and more complicated language of music, which is in itself foreign to the nature of his instrument, so that he and his art have come to be an anachronism. Scarcely any modern works for the violin have been composed by violin players and almost all of the works written by violinists are old-fashioned in style. This reveals a curious inconsistency. Violinists to-day are musically in sympathy with contemporary composers, but as soon as they want to show off their skill as players they turn to the music of the remote past. Although they have adapted their technique to the requirements of the new art, whose supreme aim is no longer pure melody and beauty of sound, they are none the less aware of a fundamental antagonism between the new music and the innate character of their instrument. The more the musical interest tends to centre on the accompanying orchestra, making it equal in importance to the solo instrument, the less can the purely violinistic point of view be considered. Indeed it is the piano that obviously has the greatest influence on modern composers. They demand powerful tone from the violin which it is

almost beyond the capacity of the instrument to produce. No wonder that the artist whose ideal mode of expression is cantabile violin tone prefers to play works by composers of the past. As modern music grows more extreme he turns to still remoter periods, so that the compositions of Ravel, Hindemith, Prokofiev and Milhaud stand beside those of Corelli, Tartini and Pugnani.

The greater an artist, the more old works predominate in his programmes. On the other hand we see in the concert world that modern works are mainly preferred by players who realise that the new compositions, daring and original in form, will be more attractive than their own individual style of playing. The 'novelty' excites more interest than the performer, and he is only interesting because he has dared to undertake a difficult task, which often he fully realises to be hopeless. It is hopeless because compositions which are suited neither to the character of the violin nor the feelings of the player must necessarily leave the listeners quite unmoved. At the most they compel admiration for the technical achievement, staying power and memory of the interpreter, but can have no real success, since success means that the listeners' emotions have been stirred—which, it must be admitted, is the sole aim of all public performances of music.

It cannot be denied that the vital question of the expression of emotion is shamefully neglected by most teachers. They plan their schemes of instruction solely with a view to achieving technical command of the instrument. Hence the tedious similarity of the performances, the uniform styles of the 'schools' that we find in our Auer condemns this monotony in forcible terms. concerts. ' Monotony is the death of art,' he writes, and points out that musical emotion must be expressed by a wealth of delicate shades. 'The eternal change that is found everywhere in Nature is likewise the basic principle of music. A violinist who plays an Adagio by Mozart, Beethoven or Brahms and leaves his hearers cold can in no sense be considered an artist.' Nor is the master taken in by that substitution which all too easily deceives the public. 'Temperament cannot ever be a substitute for variety of expression,' he writes, and touches on the vital question whether the expression of emotion can be cultivated. For Auer lack of imagination means lack of beauty, and that alone, not tradition, he regards as the criterion of a pure style of playing. Flesch's attitude is particularly interesting because he extends the problem by contrasting emotional with intellectual interpretation. 'The highest form of interpretation can only be achieved by instinct, not by intellect, but in actual practice when the instinctive predominates over the intellectual the result is always in some way

inferior.' These two statements are obviously contradictory, for it appears from them that a certain degree of inferiority is necessary in order to attain the highest in art. It can hardly be by mere chance that Flesch speaks of instinct and not of feeling, for the two conceptions are by no means identical. The predominance of instinct over intellect undoubtedly produces inferior results, but we cannot go so far as to assert that this is true of every artist whose playing we admire as supreme art. It is enough to quote Flesch's own words again to arrive at a different point of view. He writes of Joachim: 'It is impossible to describe the essential character of his playing. since it depended not on his actual handling of the violin but on an indefinable charm and genuine emotion that invested every work you heard Joachim play with a special beauty that you remembered for ever after.' Flesch's usual matter-of-fact calmness here gives place to deeply felt poetic emotion, and we see that feeling has replaced intellect. It is easy to understand the revolt of mind against emotion which, and not in art alone, can attain to regions whose doors are closed to pure intellect. No artist can escape the fatal challenge: 'Know thyself.'

If the rendering of a work springs from the sub-conscious, it will the more easily find its way to the soul of the listener, and the more conscious the player, the more direct will be the response from the critical intellect of the hearer. Apart from the question of the impression made by a great performance, we find in the history of our art continual proof that it is his capacity for feeling emotion that alone determines the rank of a violinist.

Every interpreter has succeeded in recreating certain works, thanks to the divine power of his imagination which alone can lead him to the source of the composer's emotion and enable him to bring new life to a work of art that has become petrified into dead printed symbols. As long as a violinist only reproduces the feeling of a work, he takes no part in the action of creation. Not until the work speaks directly to his awakened imagination can he succeed in finding his own individual means of expression. Like an actor of genius whose conception of a stereotyped part is a revelation to us, a musician can perform the stalest over-played piece in such a way that it seems new and as if we had never heard it before. This ability marks out the interpreter as one of the elect, but it is limited by its very nature, for, as we know, the great geniuses of the concert platform have never been admired for the number of the works in their repertoire.

ALBERT JAROSY. trans. by Herma E. Fiedler.

HANS SACHS

Amonost the many who annually enjoy Wagner's 'Meistersinger' either at home or abroad and to whom the name Hans Sachs is therefore familiar, there are probably few, with the exception of those who have visited Nuremberg, who have but a very hazy idea of his history or even know for a certainty, if he actually existed. It is only in recent times that even his countrymen have troubled themselves to assemble the details of the life of this remarkable man and to collect and publish at least parts of the vast quantities of poems and other works of which he was the author. For Hans Sachs was the greatest poet of his time in Germany if not the whole world and certainly the greatest of that romantic band, the 'Meistersingers.'

Hans Sachs was born at Nuremberg on 5th November, 1494, at the time when the great plague was ravishing the city. He was the son of a tailor and one marvels that his father took such pains to have his son educated in a manner far above his station. At the age of seven, little Hans was sent to the 'Holy Ghost' school, where Latin was taught and which was usually only attended by those destined for the Church or the learned professions. Here he studied diligently until he was fifteen years old under the noted Professor of Poetry, Johann Fridell; for Nuremberg stood then at the zenith of its scholastic and artistic career, which bore such rich fruit on every branch. It was under the careful supervision of this learned man that Sachs laid the foundations for those later achievements which were destined to make him immortal. Having finished his studies, he entered the workshop and took up the last but he devoted all his spare time to the muse to whom he had sworn allegiance. He was most fortunate in having a guide whose name and fame had already spread far beyond the gates of the city, the 'Meistersinger,' Leonhard Nunnenbeck, who initiated young Hans all the mysteries of his art and imbued him with the true spirit of the troubadours. At the age of seventeen the apprentice deserted his bench and started his wanderings. He made his way first to Ratisbon and then followed the banks of the Danube, the road so often trodden by the Troubadours, to Passau. Thence he journeyed by way of Innsbruck into Tyrol, thus following the path of that other great 'Singer,' Walter von der Vogelweide, and, finally, he found himself back in his

own country at Munich. Here, in 1514, he completed his first ballad commencing 'Gloria Patri Lob und Ehr,' for which von Marner composed the simple music. Then, with pack and staff, he moved slowly onwards, finally reaching that goal of all poets and minnesingers, the Rhine. Here he spent months wandering along this river of Romance and visiting the countless old strongholds, each with a tale of its own to tell, until he entered Aix, so rich in historical memories.

Here his delightful wanderings came to an end, for his father, feeling his end approaching, begged him to return. This he did after five years spent in the most beautiful surroundings during which time he not only wrote poetry constantly but also assimilated a vast store of legends and folk-lore in these picturesque lands, the very heart of German Romance. On his return to his native city, he soon married and settled down to the peaceful and quiet life of a well-to-do citizen, following his trade in the workshop, as we see it to-day, and spending his leisure hours writing and composing. Then, when the little bell rings out in the morning at the 'Bratwirstgloecklein,' that picturesque little inn, announcing that the sausages were ready we see him hurrying thither to join his cronies at the morning tankard with hot sausages. Here, surrounded by Albrecht Duerer, Adam Kraft, Veit Stoss, Peter Vischer, and many more whose names are worldfamous, he recites his latest creations, evoking both much merriment and admiration; for his poems have a merry note and even his criticisms are always good-natured and teeming with harmless fun. Wagner might have introduced such a scene with advantage into his somewhat monotonous work, which, although ranking now as the Nation's Gala Opera, is, nevertheless, lacking in that absorbing interest and powerful action displayed in his other works. Hans Sachs reached the ripe age of eighty-two, closing his eyes forever on 25th January, 1576, having written his last 'Meisterlied' in August, 1561, for which his favourite pupil, Adolf Puschmann, wrote the music.

Hans Sachs remains, probably, unexcelled as to fertility of production, and even our own Bunyan can hardly have reached such figures. The whole of Sachs' works fill thirty-four folios, all written with his own hand. His poems reach the enormous number of 6,048, of which 206 are dreams and 1,700 farces. During his long life he read everything that came his way and accumulated such a great fund of knowledge on all subjects that he was often consulted on artistic as well as historic matters by his many friends, who regarded him as an infallible authority. It was a high position that this son of a simple tailor occupied in a circle which included many of the leading

artists and most learned men of the day, and his name travelled far abroad. He embraced the Protestant form of religion but, unlike so many of his contemporaries, he never introduced religion or political matter into his writings. Although somewhat rough and caustic as regards wit, these cannot fail to charm all who may have the opportunity to read them.

Nuremberg has erected a statue to his memory and named a street after him; it is to be hoped that she will take steps to make his works more widely known and accessible. We see his workshop and even the tools with which he worked but one imagines that very few of the numberless tourists from all lands who view these relics of the great cobbler-poet realise the position he occupied in his day. They rush onwards, red book in hand, attempting to digest in a few hours the beauties of a city overcharged with the visible memories of mighty Masters of whom Hans Sachs was not the least.

CAPTAIN C. L. R. ESBERT.

THE LAST SCENE OF GOTTERDÄMMERUNG

No scene in Opera has presented greater difficulties to the producer, from the first performance up till present times, than the last scene in 'Götterdämmerung.'

Three main reasons may be asserted for this:

- (i) The question of the appearance or non-appearance of Brünnhilde's horse, Grane.
- (ii) The representation of the catastrophe of the last few pages of the score.
- (iii) The whole problem of the extent and the representation of the Symbolic in drama.

Taking these questions in order:

(i) It has always seemed a pity when Grane does not appear. Wagner has indicated that he should do so, and there is good psychological argument for his appearance at that particular part of that particular scene.

But it is manifestly impossible that he should walk in among the singers. It is, however, possible to arrange for his appearance without doing this, as follows:—

Instead of leading him on to the front of the stage, have a wall about 1.8 metres (6 ft.) high, so that he can pass behind this wall, only his head and shoulders being visible. He will pass by towards the left, and Brünnhilde can mount steps and caress him across the wall. The wall would be an appropriate addition to the Gibichange-halle scenery. It will probably be impossible anyhow for Brünnhilde to caress him as if to mount, till they both arrive at the left wings; when, the fire springing on to the stage between the wall and the back from the left wings, they will pass into the wings. Immediately they are gone, a bigger and intenser fire will spring from the outer left wings on to the fronter part of the stage.

This description has been made for those stages which have only one—or at best a slowly sloping—level of height or depth. For those that can contrive more than one, the following device, superior to and simpler than the one set out above, will be possible:—

The wall can be much lower, in fact there can be a balcony instead. Then the part of the stage immediately behind the balcony will be about 1.2 metres (4 ft.) deeper than the front of the stage. The balcony will be about half that height.

The advantage of this scheme is that Grane will be enabled to make more movement, as he can be led in by a stage hand, who will be concealed through the depth of the stage. If this man does not wish to crouch, the height of the balcony could be increased to 1½ metres (5 ft.).

(ii) and (iii) The last part of this scene demands symbolic elements in its treatment.

However, it is often treated merely non-naturalistically, that is, with a negative symbolic effect; and so are the oration of Brünnhilde and the episode of Grane, often. But what is required is surely a positive realism, which we have outlined above with regard to the episode of Grane; followed by a positive symbolism, which will be sketched below:—

After Brünnhilde's exit, the bystanders must clearly grow more and more agitated. But they must do this in most detailed and suggestive synchronisation with the music. Occasionally a great rush to the centre could be made as in a ballet-grouping, at some rapid fortissimo scale-passage in the orchestra. Lighting, too, must play its symbolic part. The main colour of the atmosphere should be a blackish blue; but every significant colour of the orchestration must be mirrored in it⁽¹⁾—a triangle-entry, fortissimo, by a shriek of white light, for example. Strange shapes must flicker through the air as the orchestra plays them.

About four bars before the direction 'Aus den Trümmern der zusammengestürtzen Halle . . .' is reached, the main characters in the earlier dresses of the 'Ring' should appear at the sides, somewhat ghostlike, moving about like the rest of the bystanders, but in silvery costumes. At the actual bar where that stage direction 'Aus den Trümmern der zusammengestürtzen Halle . . .' begins, the whole stage must be enveloped in a transparent red atmosphere, which can come either suddenly or as the climax to a gradual colour-process lasting over the previous four minutes.

As Wagner directs, the gods and heroes seated in Walhalla must

⁽¹⁾ A detailed notation for such complex and swift lighting-effects (as used in my own opera-ballets Night, Restaurant, and Shine Open) will be found in my Essentials of a Simple Lighting Notation. Such effects are surely essential as an advance on the old methods, to parallel the technical advance of Wagner's orchestration on 8th century folklore.

be seen. The ghostlike characters may now become still, like the gods: it will enhance the symbolic dignity of the moment; and their silvery costumes will contrast with the pervading red. (If preferred, they can appear at the same time as the gods are seen, instead of about four bars earlier.)

The red must remain till the bar where the gods are directed to be burnt out: and this must happen, while the curtain is beginning to close, by means of a single dead-black mass of light suddenly blotting out the gods. Finally, two alternatives suggest themselves: either the whole of the stage can be blacked out, or else all of it except the representation of Walhalla can melt at once from its red to some less fierce colour, say a mixture of gold and whites as with relief. Or the green Rhine can swamp all.

TERENCE WHITE.

REGISTER OF BOOKS ON MUSIC

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C. B. O.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Diaghileff: His Artistic and Private Life. By Arnold Haskell.
Gollancz: 12s. 6d.

Few biographical subjects offer such tempting material as the great figures of Russian music, Russian literature and Russian art. Judged from the sober Western European point of view they appear, almost without exception, strange, kinked, fantastic and self-contradictory. (Nor was Diaghilev one of the exceptions.) They are at the same time exactly like ourselves and bafflingly different. Superficially they are like us; fundamentally they seem to possess a totally different set of values. And the first question one asks of a Western biographer is this: Can he accept these foreign values, these paradoxes, as his subject did—see with Russian eyes, think (more or less) with a Russian mind? Mr. Haskell passes that test triumphantly. He not only understands his hero through and through; the whole background, social and cultural, is so painted that it feels true as well as being true in fact.

Mr. Haskell's admitted hero-worship has not blinded him to the unpleasanter side of Diaghilev's personal character. Nor has it, I think, led him to exaggerate the value of Diaghilev's own creative contribution to his productions, the contribution of a man who had failed, or never tried, in each of the arts singly and who had to work through the brains of others as his instruments, but who nevertheless was much more than merely a great organiser and 'chairman of the collaborators'; Diaghilev was like a great conductor who had failed as a player of various orchestral instruments. Only in one instance, perhaps, has Mr. Haskell done injustice through partiality; Diaghilev's enemy, Telyakovsky, Director of the Imperial Theatres during the decade before the War, was a good deal more efficient and artistic than the author suggests, I believe. Otherwise Mr. Haskell's judgments of men and artistic movements are extremely sound and well-balanced. Indeed he has produced something more than a firstrate biography; his book is a valuable and accurate history of a whole artistic period, the period on which Diaghilev ineffaceably stamped his name.

Naturally the book is concerned with very much besides music and musicians. But Diaghilev was first and foremost a musician, though a composer manqué and a critic liable to strange lapses of judgment. Mr. Haskell is the first English writer to tell the story of Rimsky-Korsakov's sharp criticism of the youthful Diaghilev's compositions and of the young man's regrettable, and soon regretted, outburst: 'The future will show which of us is considered the greater in history.' (But why does he speak of Korsakov as 'the old man'? The composer was barely fifty at the time.)

There are one or two slips. 'Alexander II' should be Nicholas II' on p. 138, and, even thus amended, the statement is

hardly accurate. And Benois's story of the interpolated recitation in the Paris production of *Boris* (p. 179) is a pure fairy-tale. The most honourable of Russians sometimes seem to be hazy about the boundaries of sober truth.

GERALD ABRAHAM.

Music and Ballet. Recollections of M. D. Calvocoressi. Faber and Faber: 7s. 6d.

The new title of Mr. Calvocoressi's fascinating book of reminiscences (originally published as Musicians' Gallery) is a little misleading. It is true that the author was Diaghilev's assistant and adviser in Paris during the period 1907-1910, but ballet has played a comparatively small part in his life. His reminiscences are mainly of music and musicians. Of musicians principally. (And the memoirs of a man who has known Rimsky-Korsakov, Fauré, Debussy, Ravel, Grieg, Schönberg and a dozen others personally, some of them intimately, have the value of an historic document.) But also of music itself. The book is the record of forty years' musical experience, a record much more substantial than the mass of anecdotage and undigested facts that the word 'reminiscences' usually comprehends.

This latter aspect of the book was somewhat overlooked by reviewers when it appeared in its earlier form. Naturally they gave most of their attention to Mr. Calvocoressi's inner history of the Russian invasion of France, to his account of the inception of Ravel's 'Daphnis and Chloe' and the Piano Sonatina (in which he played an active part), to his personal relations with the great Russians whose works have always particularly fascinated him, and so on. But a critic's frank confession of the nature of his personal reactions are surely of interest too; at any rate to the public that reads musical criticism. Particularly interesting is Mr. Calvocoressi's confession that in most cases there has been no evolution in his musical tastes. 'I was repelled from the outset by Tchaïkovsky and Scriabin, exactly as I was attracted by Wagner and Bach; and I never changed.'

He distinguishes between 'spontaneous admirations—which may come suddenly or gradually—taught admirations, and admirations simply caught from the surrounding atmosphere,' but does not condemn the 'taught' and 'caught' forms as necessarily spurious. 'One may have the impression that they correspond to something latent in one's own true self. And they often do.' As for the effect of criticism in influencing the opinions of others, he notes among other instances: 'I was greatly interested by what I read on Schönberg; but, after getting to know his music, I felt that none of those comments affected my impressions, or could go to the forming of my own opinion.' Though certainly they 'led me to study it carefully, to give it every chance of working upon me.' And he concludes that 'the reasons that a critic gives are good, in the last resort, only for people who, by virtue of their nature, are prepared to feel as he feels.'

GERALD ABRAHAM.

Russian Ballets. By Adrian Stokes. Faber and Faber: 7s. 6d.

'Many arts combine to make a ballet. In no instance has the finished product served as the object of intensive and sustained literary study, doubtless because a ballet is so little amenable to the exigencies of such review,' observes Mr. Stokes in his preface. 'With this book I have tried in a small and limited way to pursue an intensive though partial examination of certain ballets, thereby initiating work that will finally close a gap in æsthetic studies.' Ballet certainly is 'little amenable to' critical study and Mr. Stokes, like so many 'literary' writers on music, is apt too often to take refuge in rather flowery verbiage. But it is difficult to see how else the elusive spirit that is the essence of ballet could have been grasped, and—the really important thing—the average reader will almost certainly get more out of any particular ballet after reading Mr. Stokes's description of it.

GERALD ABRAHAM.

Playtime in Russia. Edited by Hubert Griffith. Methuen: 6s.

Mr. Griffith's team of writers, setting out to study Soviet Russia at play, come into contact with music at various points. Mr. A. E. Wilson gives an interesting, if gushing, account of a performance of *Prince Igor* in Moscow, and Miss Ethel Mannin blunders lamentably over *Tsar Saltan*. But the chapter on music by the German conductor, Heinz Unger, and 'Some Impressions of the Ballet in Russia—1934' by Marie Rambert and Lesley Blanch are reliable and informative.

The authors of the ballet chapter amply confirm Arnold Haskell's remarks in his Diaghileff on the old-fashioned nature of Soviet ballet: 'They have new, vital and revolutionary subjects, yet they are danced in the dead idiom of an old-fashioned opera.' Dr. Unger has nothing to say about Soviet composers and their work, but he has much that is interesting to tell about concert-giving conditions, orchestral playing, audiences, and so on. Incidentally he reveals that the special concerts with free tickets for special groups (e.g. Red Army clubs and factory employees) are less well attended than the ordinary concerts with a normal paying public.

One little grumble—at the incredibly careless spelling of proper names. To allow both 'Tchekoff' and 'Chekhov,' 'Semenova' and 'Simeonova,' in the same volume is unpardonable.

GERALD ABRAHAM.

Reale Accademia d'Italia. (Musica.)

(1) Franchini Gafuri. Theorica musicale.

(2) Vincenzo Galilei. Dialogo della Musica antica e moderna.

These two publications usher in a new series to be issued by the Italian R. Academy (music department) under the general editorship of Ottrino Respighi. It is intended to reprint in facsimile important works which, kept on the shelves of private libraries and collections, have been so far inaccessible to the general public. It is hoped thus

to give scholars and historians the opportunity of examining for themselves and forming their own opinion of the value of the contributions of these early writers to history.

Of the two volumes under review, the first, Franchino Gafuri's 'Theorica musicale,' is more remote from us than the second. As Signor Gaetano Cesari points out in the learned and illuminating introduction, Gafuri played an important part in the humanistic movement at the close of the fifteenth century when Italian was superseding Latin as the idiom of literary men. Gafuri, who published his Theoricum Opus Musice Discipline in 1480, re-wrote the second and third chapters in Italian under the title 'Angelicum ac divinum opus musicae' to satisfy the need of 'illiterate persons who, while professing music, have the greatest difficulty in mastering its harmonic laws since they cannot understand our own and the works of other Latin writers.'

After wandering from his native Lodi to Mantua, Verona and Genoa, Gafuri settled finally in Milan where Lodovico Sforza was anxious to gather round him men distinguished in arts and letters and eclipse the splendour of rival Italian courts. In the Sforza Academy Gafuri taught music and defended the ancient traditions, represented, mainly by Boethius, against the attacks of Ramis de Pareja who held the chair of music at the university of Bologna.

Vincenzo Galilei is not only nearer to our time but also to modern art. The 'Dialogo della musica anti ca et moderna' was published first in 1581—one hundred years after Gafuri's 'Theorica'—; it is also dedicated to Giovanni Bardi generally regarded as the first to conceive the idea of opera as we understand it. The 'Dialogo' however is not concerned directly with the ideas the Florentine group were later to embody in their famous experiment. It discusses instead every problem known to the theorist of the time. Acoustics, harmony, the nature of sound, Greek and Latin consonances, the lyre and the cythara, the lute and the viola—all come under discussion. Like Gafuri, Galilei engaged in controversy. His opponent was Gioseffo Zarlino who, politely attacked in the 'Dialogo,' was 'o be more severely dealt with after he had answered the Dialogo's criticism in his 'Sopplimenti Musicali.'

Galilei appears to have been the more skilled controversialist. Zarlino is to-day forgotten. Galilei commands attention not so much perhaps on account of his theories as for his association with the Florentine Camerata which gave Monteverde the needed impulse for the creation of the only contemporary opera which still interests us on artistic as well as theoretical grounds.

A succinct and interesting preface is contributed to the volume by Fabio Fano.

F.B.

Guido M. Gatti. Ildebrando Pizzetti. Paravia, L.7.50.

England knows little of Pizzetti. His violin and cello sonatas made some impression when they were first heard; the Requiem for voices was well received at Cambridge last year and the Rondo Veneziano played under the composer's direction at the Queen's Hall, attracted

some attention. Pizzetti's contributions to the theatre, which are fairly numerous and important, are entirely unknown. For this reason Signor Gatti's short volume, which not only praises the composer's achievements but expounds his theories, will be welcome to those interested in the development of modern opera. Pizzetti's theories are those of an artist jealous of the royal prerogative of music, who does not mean to give up his privileges but to exploit them more fully. He is at one with Wagner in holding that the words of a libretto need be no more than a peg for music, though a peg designed for a special purpose. But far from objecting to the inclusion of the chorus he believes that its place in opera is even more important than it was in Hellenic drama. As Signor Gatti remarks, this conception is in keeping with the views expressed by Mazzini who in his 'Filosofia della musica 'asks why the chorus, which stands for the people, does not develop in opera the individuality of thought and action the mass invariably possess. Undoubtedly the value of some Pizzetti operas lies, apart from the individual technique and the beauty and intensity of the dramatic speech, in the new and arresting handling of the problem of the choral masses who become essential part of the dramatic action.

At the conclusion of his study, the author remarks that the 'battle for modernity' has left Pizzetti unaffected. The trend of his work is now what it was when he first came before the public thirty years ago. In these days of quickly shifting fashions the phenomenon is rare enough to kindle a desire to know something more of a musician so earnest and single-minded.

F.B.

Bruno Walter. Von den moralischen Kräften der Musik. Herbert Reicher Verlag.

In this lecture, given before the members of the Vienna Kulturband, Herr Walter has little difficulty in proving his case, which is that there are forces in music which encourage a higher 'morality.' The word morality, however, is not interpreted strictly as conduct; there is in the thesis no distinct frontier between right and wrong. By 'morality' we are to understand rather a higher spiritual and intellectual life, a clearer comprehension of the feelings and the passions of humanity. The greatest inducement to this higher life is found, according to the author, in the music of Beethoven and, especially, in Beethoven's adagios.

The other side of the question has been more often urged by writers who, not being musicians themselves, could see and appreciate but one facet of the many aspects of musical art. While G. B. Shaw declares in his Wagnerian study that the love duet of the Valkyries ends in a scene when the curtain must be brought down, Herr Walter asserts that even in *Tristan* Eros appears rather as Caritas; that it is the pity of it all that the composer exalts and not sensuous pleasure, emphasising the longing of the lovers, the witchery which is all around them, the pangs of separation. Had he chosen to go further afield he could have easily reinforced his argument with

examples drawn from the sister art of poetry. But a clear definition of morality, its laws and its frontiers, he finds to be impossible since good and evil are inextricably bound together in the human conscience.

F. B.

Fellowes, Edmund H.: The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St. Michael's College, Tenbury. Pp. 319. Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre (Louise B. M. Dyer): Paris, 1934. £3 10s.

With the publication of this handsome volume Dr. Fellowes has once more placed the world of musical scholarship deeply in his debt. From the brief notices which have appeared in the successive editions of Grove (under ' Libraries and Collections of Music ') and from other summary accounts, the collection of musical manuscripts at Tenbury has long been known to be one of the most important in the country, and its chief treasures, such as the Adrian Batten Organ Book, the Toulouse-Philidor collection of French opera scores, Handel's conducting score of Messiah, and above all its magnificent set of partbooks of vocal music of the polyphonic school, have often been described and, in consequence, frequently consulted; but researchworkers all over the world have long felt the need of a detailed catalogue of its contents. After many years of hard work-for when he entered on his duties he found the library in hopeless confusion and had first to bring it into some sort of order before he could attempt to catalogue it-Dr. Fellowes has at last been able to meet this want. In congratulating him on the successful conclusion of his labours one must not forget to pay a meed of tribute to Mrs. Louise Dyer, at whose Lyre-Bird Press the catalogue has been printed and but for whose enterprise it would probably have remained in manuscript.

A first examination does not indeed reveal much that should be added to the excellent account of the library which Dr. Fellowes contributed to the last edition of Grove. The list of autographs should, however, be extended to include the names of Christopher Simpson (Fancies for Strings upon the Four Seasons, original MS. of 'A Compendium of Practicall Musick'), Pachelbel (Magnificat in D), Pergolesi (? Dixit Dominus) and Galuppi (Laudate pueri); special attention should be called to the splendid collection of operas and operatic arias by Paisiello; and mention should be made of the unique manuscripts of instrumental compositions by Paisiello (Eight concertos for cembalo: Eitner records only two) and Cimarosa (Two seastets for strings, bassoon and pianoforte). But it is in its detailed lists of the contents of collections already known that the chief value of the catalogue resides. These are now all carefully set out and numbered, and one's only regret is that Dr. Fellowes did not incorporate these subordinate numbers in his index-references. It would have made the task of finding any particular composition very much easier.

In one respect, and it is unfortunately rather an important one, Dr. Fellowes' cataloguing leaves something to be desired. He appears to have paid very little attention to the identification and to what we may perhaps call the correct nomenclature of his composers. Cases are numerous in which the same man appears in two different places in the index, and other composers, though entered only once,

are entered in a form that for nine people out of ten will effectually conceal their identity. Here, for example, are a few instances of double entry. G. C. Bach=J. C. Bach; V. (?) Amadeus Graun= Johann Gottlieb Graun; G. (misprint for N.) Gumbert=N. Gombert; Joanellus=Ruggiero Giovanelli; Tiburtius Martianus=Tibertio Massianus (Massiani), usually known as Tiburtio Massaino; Petrus Platensis=Pierre de la Rue; Jodoci (!) Pratensis=Josquin des Près; Sassone=J. A. Hasse; L. (?) Stefani=Agostino Steffani; Vegel (Vayglel)=Joseph Weigl; P. de Vuildre=P. de Wildroe, usually known as Philip van Wilder. The list of wrong or at any rate unusual forms of name is even longer, but it includes a number of simple misprints or obvious misspellings that are fairly easy of detection. The correct or generally accepted form is here given inside brackets. Aldronandini (Aldrovandini); Allinori (Alinovi); Alvaro (Alvars); Bellabene (Ballabene); Benicori (Benincori); Caraseno (Caresana); Castilati (Castileti); Draughig! (Draghi); Erhardis (Erhard); Favin (Fevin); Ferrers (Ferrero); Gigl (Gigli); Guaimi (Guami); Hammerschmieden (Hammerschmidt); Hearson (Heardson); Ingenerus (Ingegneri); Lancar (Lanier); Marinelli, P. (Marinelli, G.); Martini, G. P. (? G. B., but one piece at least, 1056%, is by V. Martin y Soler, c.f. 4026); Pevenago (Pevernage); Richter, F. H. (Richter, F. X.); Rollen (Rolle); Scheicht (Scheidt); Spontini (Spontoni); Swellingh (Sweelinck); Thegetti (Teghetti); Wedeman (Weideman). And surely to enter Maximilian Joseph III of Bavaria under 'Baviera, S. A. de 'is carrying literalism a little too far. In two cases one entry in the index covers two composers in the text: Crivelli, D. standing for both Domenico, who appears to be unknown to the works of reference, and Arcangelo Crivelli, and Wanless, J. for both John and Thomas Wanless.

Dr. Fellowes has been excusably cautious in supplying Christian names for composers mentioned only by their surnames, but a few identifications might, we think, be made with confidence: Bacon= Rev. Robert Bacon; Burton=John Burton (c. 1730-1785); Falle= Philip Falle; Festin = Michael Christian Festing; Fussell = Peter Fussell; Harrington = Dr. Henry Harrington; Hebden = John Hebden; Husbands = Charles Husbands; Raylton = William Raylton; Sheeles = John Sheeles or Scheeles; Shenton = Robert Shenton; Smith = John. Smith, of Market Lavington; Soika=Matthaeus Sojka; Soper=John Soaper. In some cases where a blank has been left for the Christian name in the index it will be found correctly given in the text. The following identifications are conjectural only, but may be worth considering: Clefe, jun.=Joannes de Cleve?; France, T. W.=J. W. Franck?; Goulden=John Goldwin?; Hassler, M.=Hans Leo Hassler? It is perhaps worth mentioning that the anthem 'O Lord I bow the knees,' which Dr. Fellowes assigns alternatively to John or William Mundy, is definitely ascribed to the latter in a manuscript at the British Museum.

This is, as we have said, a handsome volume, but we hope that for future publications of this kind Mrs. Dyer will not adopt a paper that is so stiff and heavy that it nearly breaks the back of the book to open it, or a binding material which is not only unpleasantly greasy to the touch but shows every finger-mark.

Rougnon, Paul: Dictionnaire général de l'art musical, etc. Pp. 384. Librairie Delagrave: Paris, 1935. 18 fr.

M. Rougnon's book contains such a fund of curious and out-of-theway information, especially about French musical terminology, that it is a pity that he has not taken more trouble over it (there are some appalling misprints), and that he has practically destroyed its value as a work of reference by trying to combine two such incompatible principles as alphabetical arrangement and systematic treatment. Eight dictionaries-which is what his book virtually is, as it deals with the elements of music, harmony, counterpoint, composition, the voice, instrumental music, æsthetics and musical biography, in successive alphabetical series—would no doubt be as good as one if only one always knew in which to look for a particular term. But who is to guess that dominant, for example, is to be found under 'elements' and not under 'harmony,' or that timbre is treated under 'voice' and not under 'instrumental music'? M. Rougnon's biographical section is equally exasperating. He has attempted to confine it to musicians who were founders of schools or for other reasons may be claimed as pioneers, but his choice of names is so haphazard that the resulting list is little more than a reflection of his personal tastes. Even so it seems rather unfair to grant admittance to 'Bramhs, Johannès,' only to send him about his business with a 'fut considéré par quelques-uns comme un chef de l'école allemande à la fin du XIXe siécle.' On the other hand, a collection of French proverbs embodying musical terminology, which falls outside the series of alphabets, is a welcome innovation, and may well suggest a number of fruitful lines of enquiry to future researchers. Writers of dissertations please take note!

C. B. O.

Moser, H. J.: Musik Lexikon. Pp. 1,005. Max Hesses Verlag: Berlin-Schöneberg, 1935. 20 M.

Prof. Moser's new dictionary is a sort of junior 'Riemann': it is sponsored by the same firm of publishers and admittedly owes much to its famous predecessor. One would like to be able to say that on its own restricted scale it was equally good, for that would mean that for purposes of rapid reference it was even better. Unfortunately Prof. Moser has not only preferred elimination to compression, but appears to have proceeded on the principle that it didn't matter who had to be sacrificed so long as he was an Englishman. Here, for example, are some of the casualties:—

Ashton (Hugh), Attwood, Baldwin (John), Balfe, Bateson, Beecham, Bennet (John), Blow, Boughton, Bowen, Boyce, Bridge (Frank and Sir Frederick), Butterworth, Campion, Coates (Albert and John; Eric is retained), Cooke, Coperario, Coward, Cowen, Croft, Crotch, Dale, Davies (Fanny and Sir Walford), Deering, Dibdin, Farnaby, Ferrabosco, Harty, Hook, Ireland, Jones (Robert; Sydney of 'The Geisha' is there), Lawes (Henry and William), Matthay, Nares, Ouseley, Ravenscroft, Reeves (Sims), Ronald, Roseingrave, Rossetter, Salomon, Santley, Smart, Storace, Taverner, Tomkins, Walker (Ernest), Wallace (William and W. Vincent), Walton, the Wesleys.

No one would claim that these are all names of international importance, but they are at least the equal of their German counterparts, for whom space has been found in plenty. One would have thought that even in Germany the ordinary music-lover, for whom Prof. Moser claims to be catering, would be likely to come across some of these names—in the course of his reading, if not in the concert-room—and would want to know something about them.

However, judged by its contents rather than its omissions, his book is undeniably a good one. It is concise, reliable, up-to-date (it must be remembered that it was first published in instalments, starting in 1932), and the bibliographies are unusually detailed. In his preface Prof. Moser admits that he has occasionally allowed his personal views to intrude upon the objectivity appropriate to a work of reference. We wish he had done so more often, for when he does venture to indulge in criticism, what he has to say is almost always first-rate. (His brief estimate of Berlioz, for example, is a masterpiece of appreciative but discriminating summing-up.) It is all the more regrettable that he has so often been content to quote the opinions of others. It is difficult to believe either that he has no personal acquaintance with the music of such men as Bax, Bloch, Elgar, Fauré, Franck, Milhaud, or Prokofief—to take a few instances—or that he can find nothing of his own to say about it.

C. B. O.

New Mozartiana. The Mozart relics in the Zavertal collection at the University of Glasgow. By H. G. Farmer and Herbert Smith. Illus. Pp. ix. 157. Jackson, Son and Co., Glasgow, 1935. 10s. 6d.

The Zavertal Collection in the University of Glasgow takes its name in the first instance from its donor, Commendatore Ladislao Zavertal, M.V.O., who before he became Director of Music of the Royal Artillery Band in 1881, was for ten years resident in Glasgow and played a prominent part in the musical life of the city as composer and conductor. It is, however, at the same time a memorial of Venceslao Hugo Zavertal, his father, who was also active as teacher and conductor in Glasgow and Helensburgh for many years, and was the original owner of the Mozart relics which form the most valuable part of the collection.

In early life the elder Zavertal lived in Milan, and while there became acquainted with Karl Mozart, the composer's eldest son, who held a post there as a minor official under the Austrian government. The acquaintance soon ripened into friendship, and in less than a year from the date of their first meeting Karl testified to the warmth of his esteem by presenting Zavertal with a number of relics of his famous father. It is this collection, supplemented by other documents, that has now found a permanent home in the University of Glasgow.

The most important items are (1) the original, in Leopold Mozart's handwriting, of the petition (Species facti) presented by him to Joseph II in 1768, protesting against the intrigues that had prevented the performance of his son's opera La Finta semplice; (2) a portion of a MS. score, wrongly certified by Karl as autograph, of Mozart's masonic cantata Dir, Seele des Weltalls (K.429), which supplements a similar fragment in the Mozarteum at Salzburg; (3) the original of

Lange's portrait of Constanze Mozart, painted in 1782; and (4) an autograph letter from Mozart to Constanze about a performance of Die Zauberflöte, which is possibly the last letter from the composer that has survived.

Dr. Farmer, with the assistance of Professor Smith, who has edited and translated the documents, has now published an attractive volume in which these relics and others of minor importance are not only discussed in detail, but are made to serve as texts for a number of separate monographs which, taken together, cover the whole story of Mozart's life and posthumous reputation. The most important of the relics is undoubtedly the portrait of Constanze, which was previously known only from a lithograph reproduced in the biography of Mozart compiled by Nissen, her second husband. The original is far more lively and attractive, and as this is the only portrait of Constanze which dates from the time of her marriage to Mozart its biographical interest is obviously considerable. Its rediscovery has also afforded Dr. Farmer an opportunity for reopening the much-debated question of the date of Lange's portrait of Mozart himself. This has often been regarded as the last portrait ever painted of the composer, partly on account of its unfinished state, and partly because it has been thought. especially by those who know it only from reproductions, to show obvious signs of illness and exhaustion. Dr. Farmer, however, brings forward convincing reasons for regarding the two portraits as a pair, and indeed as being the identical portraits which Mozart sent to his father in Salzburg in 1783, as recorded in his letter of April 3. This chapter of the book affords the exhibitration that always accompanies vigorous argument carried to a definite conclusion.

On the other hand, Dr. Farmer's (or is it Prof. Smith's?) treatment of the documents is almost overwhelming in its display of learning. It is important, no doubt, to have a correct text of one of Mozart's most interesting letters, but we might have been spared a full catalogue of the sins of previous editors. And even that arch-pedant Leopold Mozart would rub his eyes to see his Species facti provided with an elaborate apparatus criticus just like any classical text. These, however, are only the excesses of an enthusiasm for which in general the reader has good reason to feel grateful. Without it Dr. Farmer would have produced an inventory, not a book. As it is, in spite of occasional awkwardnesses of style, he has managed to be as readable as he is

informative

In an introductory chapter Dr. Farmer collects all the evidence he can find about Mozart's affection for England and all things English. Might we draw his attention to Mozart's fondness for English beer, of which there is ample record in his letters?

C. B. O.

Monamenta Musicae Byzantinæ. Subsidia (2 parts) I.1. Handbook of Middle Byzantine Musical Notation: by H. J. W. Tillyard: (Copenhagen 1935). I.2 La Notation Ekphonetique: par Carsten Hoëg.

The series of Monumenta Musicae Byzantinæ has begun very successfully under the auspices of the Danish Academy with the support of the Union of Academies. The first volume of the Monumenta,

which contained a complete facsimile of the Sticherarion from a MS. at Vienna, is now followed by these two Subsidia: the first consists of a brief general introduction to the decipherment of MSS of this class and of middle date; the second contains very appropriately a study of lectionary (ekphonetic) notation, for this is the point at which all study of neumatic notations ought to begin. Out of the accents of prosody there developed the more elaborate accentuation which was required for the musical recitation of the lessons from the Sacred Books-in Christian usage as elsewhere, e.g., among Jews and Moslems; -and from this, in turn, there arose at a much later date. the several forms of elaborate neumatic notation when they were needed to record the traditional music, which had previously been sung by heart under the guidance of the director of the quire, using his art of cheironomy to direct the singers. The 'ekphonetic' notation lies therefore behind the later systems, whether Byzantine, Russian, or Latin. This is clear: but otherwise the early history is so far mainly a series of queries as yet unanswered: for, while all things Byzantine still suffer from the contemptuous neglect of the West, Eastern music in particular-the Cinderella of the Arts-has fared worst of all. Less attention was paid to it in Sophocles' Dictionary of Byzantine Greek than in Ducange's Glossary, 200 years earlier. The appearance of Egon Wellesz's popular and cheap, but excellent handbook Byzantinische Musik in 1927 perhaps marked the turn of the tide: and he is co-operating with the writers in this new project.

But it is evident that the scheme needs reinforcement on the Russian side, not only because Russian and Byzantine music are intimately bound up together, but because the study of the subject has long been carried on in Russia, and has produced a great series of writers and books. It is disquieting to find no reference to this in Dr. Tillyard's list of authorities. The first impulse towards this study came from Metropolitan Eugenie of Kiev in 1799: practical musicians such as Bortnianski and L'vov carried it on side by side with the scientific enquirers and archeologists. In the great sixties of the last century this study took its place side by side with the great efflorescence of the other arts, -secular music, literature, painting, &c. The movement had its Maecenas in Prince Odoievski (1803-1869), its official leader in Protoierei Razumovsky, who in 1858 had become the first occupant of the Chair of Ecclesiastical Music in the Conservatorium of Moscow. Simultaneously Prince Yusupov was trying in France to interest the West in the whole music of the Orthodox Eastern Church in its origins and interrelationships; but without much success. In Russia however there continued a succession of work and workers. Among the most prominent perhaps, were S. B. Smolenski and V. Metallov, who carried on the tradition into the twentieth century. A good survey of the literature is given in the early part of A. A. Ignatiev's book (Bogosluzhebnoe Pienie), 'Liturgical Chant of the Russian Church from the end of xvith to the beginning of the xviiith century '(Kazan 1916). Metallov's book (with the same title) deals in parts I and II with the earlier period from classical Greek times onward. (Moscow, 1912.)(1)

⁽¹⁾ Riesemann gives a good bibliography in his Die Notationen des altrussischen Kirchengesanges (Moscow 1908).

A note of some of the unanswered questions will show how widereaching and intertwining they are, and the need of a wide outlook. What is the relation of the Byzantine music to the old-Greek theorists and their systems? Did theory and practice ever agree, or was there, here as elsewhere, a perennial discordance between the class-room and the quire? What had the Arab, St. John of Damascus, and his convent at Jerusalem, to do with the Oktoich? Was it musical, or a purely liturgical scheme, in its inception, or in its results?

How far were such modes at all 'modal,' in either the Early-Greek

or the Medieval-Western sense?

What influence on Eastern ecclesiastical music is traceable to Jewish, Egyptian, Persian, Slavic sources:—especially what streams of influence passed through such centres as Jerusalem, Constantinople, Mt. Athos? These questions involve matters of history and theory.

Another group of doubts centres round Notation. When and where came first the revolution which began the plan of describing any note by its relation to its predecessor and not to its scale or mode? This is a question, by the side of which questions as to forms or transformations or any elaboration of different sets of formula are only of secondary importance.

The capacity to decipher the ancient MSS is now advancing steadily, and this will be forwarded by the series of Monumenta and its Subsidia. For it is facsimiles that are needed; some few projects of interpretation are welcome, such as Dr. Tillyard has given here for one period, and as a basis for work. But facsimiles, not transcriptions please. They are inherently misleading; for, however learnedly made, they can never reproduce to us the music as it was sung by the writers. To recover that it is necessary to know it in its own notation, and as a living creature, not as an unwrapped mummy.

WALTER FRERE.

Orchestration. By Cecil Forsyth. (2nd Edition.) 25s. net.

This splendid book of necessarily strict expositions which invariably give way to lively, stimulating and richly instructive developments; in which enthusiasm, knowledge and sensitiveness, history, technique and musicianship are happily balanced and enhance one another, has, upon coming of age, had its territory extended.

Post-war experiment has found no reverberation within its covers; the additions are of a conciliatory, less conciliatory, topical, or learned

nature.

The Highland Bagpipe has been included in the list of instruments, with no orchestral justice but in reply to an Edinburgh attack on southron "prejudice." There is even a graceful tribute to the effect that Nero would have appreciated the C and F of the bagpipe being a quarter of a tone sharp, as being a relic of primitive melody, but what he would have done with modern laboratory dabblings in quarter tones 'need not be mentioned.' Mr. Forsyth is, however, less amenable to an Irish theory which would rename the harp 'Cythara Hibernica.'

There follows an admission that four horns were first used not in 'Idomeneo' 'Lodoiska' as the book previously held, but long before, in Handel's 'Giulio Cesare': then a delightful section on 'Vibrato,' and another on the 'Chalumeau and the Clarinet.' Most important of all is an enlargement of the original discussion on the Saxophone. That had been concerned primarily in the fact that D'Indy, Bizet and Saint-Saëns used it, and hardly at all in its general orchestral possibilities. The present section is penetrating, concise and full of interest. Composers may at last, Mr. Forsyth declares, resume their ancient practice, so long cautiously discontinued, of allowing the audience to hear the full wood-wind, without brass or strings—since four saxophones undoubtedly bind the wood-wind together in a satisfactory mass.

It is useless, the section concludes, for students to liston to such works as Strauss's 'Symphonia Domestica' in which the saxophones are never let out on their own but are carefully chaperoned everywhere, if they wish to acquire knowledge of their orchestral possibilities and limits. Possibly Mr. Forsyth's indifference to certain outlandish experiments by Stravinsky, Berg and others is another, tacit warning; the 'easygoing, sepulchral kind of plidge-plodge' of the basses before Beethoven's time was doubtless a fairer manifestation of orchestral art.

WILLIAM GLOCK.

The Scottish Psalter of 1635. Edited with modal harmonies by Richard Runciman Terry. Novello.

This work, in its original form, was the subject of Sir Richard Terry's essay 'A forgotten Psalter' (Oxford University Press, 1929). Its title-page reads: 'The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter. With their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports. Whereunto is added many godly Prayers, and an exact Kalendar for XXV yeeres to come. Edinburgh 1635.' It here appears in modern notation with the melodies in the treble, instead of in the tenor, and harmonized for the use of choirs. Appended are a table of the Psalter tunes with indications of their sources, and the Psalter in its original form. There is also a short introduction dealing with aspects that come into the province of the editor as a musician. A fully documented historical preface was written, but has been omitted in view of a similar study to be published shortly, compiled by the Rev. Dr. Millar Patrick, Joint Convener of the Church of Scotland Committee on Public Worship.

E. LOCKSPEISER.

Lives of the Great Composers. By various authors. Edited by A. L. Bacharach. Gollancz. 6s.

Who are the people who read lives of musicians? This collection of twenty-nine sketches is addressed to "those who may have little care for the music.' Are we to have again, one wonders, the cinema romances of Mozart and Schubert and the serial stories of Berlioz

and Wagner? For indeed, for the non-musician there is little else. Surely in editing the collection Mr. Bacharach must have seen that the lives of musicians are notoriously dull.

As a popular book then, it is a failure. But ironically enough, it has a good deal to interest those who can visualise a correlation of a man's physical and creative life. Excepting one or two paste and scissors creations, the essays, taken individually, are efficient and often novel. Mr. Toye is an authority on Rossini and Verdi; Mr. Calvocoressi has the latest word on Moussorgsky; Mr. Bonavia has written a sympathetic study of Elgar and an appraisement of Brahma that at once removes him from the pedestal of heroism; Mr. Glock brings the right antidote to the sentimental conceptions of Schubert. Then there are two essays by Sir Richard Terry. His subjects are Byrd and Palestrina. Here, of course, one can only remain on the periphery, and Sir Richard did the right thing in breaking the bounds and approaching the music. A more lucid approach one could not have wished for. The regret is that we do not spend longer here instead of being hastened on in alphabetical order.

E. LOCKSPEISER.

Concerning Beauty. F. J. Mather. Princetown University Press. 13s. 6d.

Though primarily concerned with beauty as revealed through painting, this book has much to interest and inform those readers whose chief delight lies in other manifestations of art. For Mr. Mather writes with sympathy and understanding of poetry, the novel, drama, opera, and sculpture. He admits his inability to deal adequately with the problem of beauty in music, yet his judgments are sound and his expression of personal taste modest and entirely reasonable.

Unlike many books on esthetics this is written in a language free from the necessary but ugly jargon of the philosophical world. In fact the ordinary reader can read it not only with ease but, because it is so lucid and natural, with real enjoyment. Occasionally the writing is lightened by delicate touches of humour, discreetly applied.

Of his general judgments one which will interest musicians is that nearly all great works are too long. Arguing from historical experience—that the Greek plays lasted from two hours to two hours-and-a-half, a time similar to that needed for an Elizabethan play undelayed by scene-changing—he asserts that plays and operas exceeding that length cannot be properly appreciated. In his opinion, one with which most people will agree, no one can sit contentedly, not to say rapturously, through the five hours needed for a performance of Parsifal without the merciful provision of walking about, beer and cheese sandwiches.

In his principles of esthetics he is so unprejudiced and so farseeing that we raise no objection in particular cases where we do not quite agree. In these days when young composers like to consider themselves Melchizedeks of music—prophets without parentage—we find Mr. Mather upholding the value of a reverence for tradition, which marks out the great artist from his lesser brethren; the eccentricity, he says, of those who despise it debars them from attaining the highest rank—the Brownings, Walt Whitmans, Debussys and Scriabins of this happily much varied world. Again, in the present-day preference for an art which exploits one or more special qualities at the expense of the whole, we find Mr. Mather showing conclusively that the best and most enduring art is that which is a "harmony of the various," or in the words of St. Thomas Aquinas, concordantia rerum diversarum.

Excepts for a few unaccountable misprints the book is faultlessly turned out and enriched with excellent illustrations.

A. B. S.

The Significance of Elgar. By Everard Jose. Heath Cranton, Ltd. 2s. 6d.

This little volume is written by a fervent admirer for fervent admirers of Elgar. Such a sentence as 'the first and greatest characteristic of Elgar's music is a wistful light from over the edge of far horizons' will cause the reader to suspect that this essay is not acutely critical, and the succeeding sentence. 'a light which is present alike in the opening theme of the Dream of Gerontius and in the Pomp and Circumstance Marches,' will confirm that suspicion.

But if the reader does not ask for a critical estimate, and simply wishes to enjoy his memories of Elgar's music, and to be reminded of the ideals and aspirations of the Edwardian days, he will find this book a most agreeable companion. It has a beautiful photograph of the composer.

A. B. S.

Ch. Oulmont. Musique de l'Amour. Desclée de Brouwer. Paris.

Henri Duparc ou de L'Invitation au Voyage.
 Ernest Chausson et la Bande de Franck.

It is to be hoped that musicians will not be deterred from reading these short volumes by their somewhat unfortunate title. There is in them no question of music as the food of earthly love. M. Oulmont's main concern is the devotion of the artist to his art and the affection which bound together Cesar Franck and his followers. Although his observations are often pertinent and illuminating M. Oulmont avoids critical and technical issues. He believes that it is for the musical interpreter and not for the biographer to reveal all that there is or may be in the composers' works. His description of life and friendship of methods of teaching and composing does help us, on the other hand, to understand better certain aspects of their time and environment and, above all, the passionate devotion Franck inspired in all who held close communion with him. In England with our frank admiration for some of Franck's compositions we also find limitations. The third movement of his quartet, good as it is in many ways, does not seem to us to reach the level of the first. In France admiration has led perhaps to the over-estimate of his work and—what is more serious—to the underestimate of other composers, including Brahms. Their attitude is better understood after reading M. Oulmont's account of the ardour that such men as Duparc and Chausson brought into the daily conquest of an ideal and of the unswerving faith with which that ideal was pursued.

F. B.

Domenico De Paoli. Igor Strawinsky. G. B. Paravia. L. 9,50.

This volume is obviously meant for the admirers of the Russian composer. The author, Signor Domenico De Paoli, does not examine the opinions expressed by other critics and he sees no kind of fault or flaw in Strawinsky. He finds in his works echoes of the classicsthe octet recalls Bach and the adagio of the piano sonata sends his thoughts to early Beethoven; 'Le Baiser de la Fée ' is inspired by Tschaikowsky and the octet by the Brandenburg concertos-but he does not draw the obvious conclusion. His enthusiasm commands respect even when we are unable to share it. And there must be many who with the best will in the world will have some difficulty in accepting Signor De Paoli's estimates. To quote but one instance, he says that in the octet Stravinsky's art turns towards serenity and a 'truly Mediterranean luminosity' which sets him thinking of Nietzsche's 'Tout ce qui est bon est léger, tout ce qui est divin court sur des pieds délicats . . ', of Mozart and ' the best Rossini.' Frankly we find it impossible to agree that this composition in which, apart from the oddity of design, dark instrumental tone predominates (the instruments used are one flute, one clarinet, two bassoons, two trumpets and two trombones) suggests either Mediterranean art or Nietzsche's 'pieds délicats.'

Ernest Closson. La Facture des Instruments de Musique en Belgique.

This brief volume published under the auspices of the Commissariat General in connection with the Brussels exhibition, gives a succinct history of the manufacture of musical instruments in a country which has always been known for its devotion to music in all its branches. The best known Belgian manufacturers are familiar to all specialists

and at least one name is familiar to all-Adolphe Sax.

If the Belgians have no one who can take his place by the side of the famous violin makers of Italy or the piano makers of Germany, they possess a number of craftsmen of great ability and especially makers of wood and brass instruments, the heirs of Houyet, Delin and Hoeberechts, of the makers who provided the instruments played by the 'spellieden' who in the middle ages were engaged in large numbers whenever it seemed expedient to add glamour and solemnity to a public occasion. To realise how widely spread is the love of instrumental music in Belgium one need but glance at the statistics of the 'Annuaire général de la musique,' which record more than 3,000 societies devoted to its study, amongst them two clubs of players of the hunting horn and 36 clubs of trumpeters.

A number of attractive illustrations adds to the value of the interesting volume.

REVIEWS OF PERIODICALS

Sovetskaya Muzika. Moscow. July-August.

Karl Maria von Weber: 'Künstlerleben' (chapters from an unfinished novel). Arnold Alschwang: The Philosophical Ideas in Scriabin's Creative Work. M. Cheremukhin: The Question of Soviet Symphonism. A. Ostretsov: Music and Sound in the Sound-Film 'Chapaev.' Discussion of Soviet Opera (various). V. Belaiev: The Forms of Uzbek Music. A. Shishakov: On the Bar-Line. A. Levitin: Excerpts from the novel, 'In the College of Music' (containing thinly veiled portraits of Scriabin and Rachmaninov).

Though Alschwang's study of Scriabin's curious spiritual-intellectual pilgrimage adds little or nothing to our knowledge, it is a very useful and well-focused account of the composer's itinerary. Scriabin's point of departure was Fichte, his first important halting-place, Nietzsche's 'Zarathustra.' Unlike most Western writers on Scriabin, Alschwang rightly dismisses the influence of theosophy as comparatively negligible. Theosophy merely served to shake the composer free from earlier influences. Nothing could be more sharply opposed to present-day Russian ideology than Scriabin's creed of intense individualism, but Alschwang is apparently unaware that Scriabin dia at one time flirt with socialism—and even waded through 'Das Kapital'! The omission is particularly curious in an article avowedly written 'from the Marxist point of view.'

September.

A. Tarasov-Vetrov and V. Shpirkov: The Music of Glière. A. K. Smith: Giacomo Puccini. E. Braudo: Romain Rolland and Music. Robert Schumann: Critical Essays on Beethoven. B. Struve: Bach's Viola Pomposa in Connection with the Problem of Inventiveness in the History of Musical Instruments. G. Khotkevich: Unknown and Little Known Instruments. K. Griemich: Artur Schnabel.

'Music and the study of its historic development were for Romain Rolland the lever which wrenched him for ever from the old world of capitalism and from bourgeois culture,' writes Braudo. 'In music he first perceived the profound contrast between the heroic ideals announced of old by the advanced intellects of bourgeoisie-in-the-ascendant and the atmosphere of corruption, downfall and hopelessness which surrounds the art of the period of the World War.' Braudo's brief survey of Rolland's career as musician and thinker is the introduction to a forthcoming monograph on the subject.

October

Georgy Khubov: Remarks on Lyrical Opera. Val Fermann: 'The Year 1905': Opera by Davidenko and Schöchter. P. Grachev: Zhivotov's Symphonic Cycle, 'The West.' K. Kuznetsov: Notes on Domenico Scarlatti. K. M. von Weber: 'Künstlerleben' (continued). A. Livshits: Fifteen Years of Chuvash Music. F. Schliefstein: The Work of Concert-Giving.

Kuznetsov's essay on Scarlatti is fresh, stimulating and scholarly. He analyses the main elements in Scarlatti's music style (e.g. the influence of Italian, Spanish and Portuguese folk-music), his forms, etc., and indicates some of the lines connecting him with the music of to-day. In this connection he gives an interesting reminiscence: 'When Darius Milhaud came to Moscow, the present writer had an opportunity of talking to him. On being asked which of the classics was "closest" to him, he replied: Scarlatti. Then, after a few moments' thought, Milhaud added that he also valued Boïeldieu very highly!

GERALD ABRAHAM.

La Revue Musicale. Paris. September, 1935.

Julien Benda: Victor Hugo et la Musique. Julien Tiersot: Victor Hugo, Musicien. Jean Sergent: Rhythme poétique et Musique. Léon Kochnitzky: La Lyre Ouvrière, André Suarès: Pensées sur la Musique. José Beuyr: Victor Hugo mélophobe ou mélophile.

This number is devoted to one special subject and bears the subtitle 'Victor Hugo et la Musique.' A perusal of the different articles brings one to the conclusion that not one of the writers but has been hard put to it to discover any vital point of contact between the author of 'L'art d'être grand-père ' and music. Julien Tiersot who writes the most considerable and informative of these articles has discovered (and reprints here) a tune written by the poet himself, of which frankly the less said the better. But Hugo, little as he knew about music and variable and uninformed as his taste in music may have been, had a number of dealings with musicians, and it is the recounting of such extra-musical matters that has been used to swell out the articles in this number and indeed to give them a real interest. The correspondence, for instance, between Hugo and Berlioz is worth noting and there is a picture of Hugo sitting at the piano between his daughter and Liszt being taught how to pick out with one finger a melody of Gluck.

November.

Robert Bernard: Camille Saint-Saëns. E. Lockspeiser: Debussy, Tchaikovsky et Mme. von Meck. Ch. van den Borren: 'Celos aun del aire maton.' Claude Cezan et Ljerko Spiller: Les origines de la musique Yougoslave.

This number also offers some illuminating correspondence, to be found in E. Lockspeiser's article on Debussy and the Russians. It appears that the 'Mme. Metch' who employed Debussy in 1879 as 'pianiste familier' was in reality no other than Tschaikovsky's Nadejda von Meck. The correspondence between Tschaikovsky and his mysterious patroness is at present in course of publication (Academia, Moscow) and it is from the second of the two volumes already issued that these letters appear in which Mme. von Meck writes to Tschaikovsky of the young French pianist 'Mon petit pianiste Bussy' and forwards a song of his for Tschaikovsky's opinion.

The reply is 'Cést une fort gentille chose, mais réellement trop courte. Aucune pensée n'y est approfondie, la forme en est manquée et le tout manque d'unité.' The article by Ch. van den Borren deals with a three-act opera by a 17th century Catalonian composer Juan Hidalgo to words by Calderón.

Revue du chant grégorien. Grenoble. September, 1935.

D. G. Gontard: La piété mariole à travers l'année liturgique. D. Lucien David: La belle part des fidèles dans La prière chantée. L. R.: Liturgie et chants à la fin du XIII siècle. D. L. David: Les versets d'Offertoire.

The opening article has mostly to do with certain aspects of mariolatry as exemplified in the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church, in the second place with questions of liturgy. Music has some place in the second article and in the third is really dealt with as such. The fourth article is the most valuable musically and the most informative.

November.

D. J. Pothier: Antienne 'Tu Rex gloriae.' Editorial: A propos du centenaire de Dom Pothier. D. L. Chambat: La philosophie du mouvement. D. L. David: Les versets d'Offertoire. H. Valmy: A la Crêche. D. L. D. and J. Handschin: Un point d'histoire.

The centenary article on the famous gregorian musicologist Abbé Pothier contains some interesting notes by Camille Bellaigue, the French music critic, on Pothier's and his own dealings with Pope Pius X on the subject of the restoration of gregorian chant. The article on Movement takes a knotty point from Aristotle, confronts it with another from Thomas Aquinas, calls in Jacques Maritain and so leaves all the knots a little tighter. The historical article deals with two eleventh century musicians, Guillaume de Fécamp and Guillaume de Dijon. In a second part of the article it is hoped to bring evidence to bear which will decide whether these two gentlemen were one and the same or separate persons.

SCOTT GODDARD.

GRAMOPHONE RECORDS

Orchestral

COLUMBIA. Bach: Concerto in E major for violin and orchestra (Huberman and the Vienna Philharmonic conducted by Issay Dobrowen). This is the kind of record a musician would be glad to possess. The violinist deals gently but firmly with the work, giving it a performance that has no frills but a fine strength and clarity. The ensemble between soloist and orchestra is truly and easily held and the whole result most satisfying.

Berlioz: Funeral March for the last scene of 'Hamlet' (The London Philharmonic conducted by Sir Hamilton Harty). The Berlioz enthusiast will be glad to have this. But not he alone. For this is an instance of Berlioz transcending himself and becoming, as it were, something as significant as 'Hamlet' itself. It is sufficient description of this impressive music to say that it could (not, perhaps, that it should) be listened to at the end of the play. The present record is admirable and altogether adequate.

Dvorak: Slavonic Rhapsody, op. 45, No. 3 (The L.P.O. conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham). The music sparkles and glows in this impulsive and sprightly performance. The record is quite excellent in every detail. Than that no more need be said. The music is well known and shows up charmingly here.

Rossini: Overture to 'La Cenerentola' (Milan Symphony Orchestra conducted by Lorenzo Molajoli). A sound example of really first-rate orchestral playing. The whole thing glitters, as indeed it must if it is to succeed in its purpose.

Decca. Mozart: Pianoforte concerto in E flat major, K.449 (Kathleen Long and the Boyd Neel Orchestra conducted by Boyd Neel). A fine and sensitive piece of recording, balance between the two parties to the bargain properly adjusted, tempi right, no fuss nor any obtrusive individuality to mask the music's own.

H.M.V. Beethoven: Pianoforte concerto in B flat major (Arthur Schnabel and the L.P.O. conducted by Malcolm Sargent). This

highly successful combination continues its good work among Beethoven's pianoforte concerti and now adds the present excellent record to the number. It is instructive to compare an aspect here and there of this performance with that on the record immediately above. In this Beethoven record one feels at once the presence of a dynamic personality, taking the music deliberately in hand and bending it to his will. The result is right because the performer is a thinking musician attuned to the music closely and accurately.

Rimsky-Korsakov: Schéhérazade (The Philadelphia Orchestra conducted by Leopold Stokowski). It is to be regretted that the text of the score has not been treated in this performance with more care From that point of view the record cannot be recommended. Otherwise it is good and the more's the pity that time should have been expended on what must remain an incomplete interpretation.

Tschaikovsky: Symphony No. 5 in E minor (same orchestra and conductor as in the previous record). All that expert playing and evident care in preparation can do appears to have been done here and the result is a splendid example of orchestral ensemble and a most satisfactory record as a whole. The music is played with a proper intensity, the score dealt with decently and the playing kept on a high level.

Wagner: Selected passages from 'Die Walküre' (same orchestra and conductor as above with Lawrence Tibbett, baritone). The passages give one a number of glimpses over a vast landscape which the hearer will enjoy just in so far as he knows that landscape already. The singer gives a fine, broad rendering of Wotan's Farewell.

Chamber Music

Columbia. Brahms: Sonata in E minor, piano and 'cello (Theo van der Pas and Emanuel Feuermann). Take any two really musical players and set them to play you this work. The result will have character and as long as the players are not suffering from an attack of self-interest it will probably be enjoyable to listen to, but it will not sound like this record where one almost forgets the excellence of each individual performance in the even greater excellence of the ensemble both physical and psychological. Few finer chamber music records have come our way.

Decca. Bliss: Clarinet quintet (The Griller String Quartet and Frederick Thurston). This is a most welcome addition to records of modern chamber music works. The performance seems to this

listener to be altogether worthy of high praise. The tonal balance (the actual recording strikes one as being particularly just) is held to a nicety and the contrast of tone between various registers of strings and wind come through absolutely clearly. The playing of the slow movement is especially good. This is the movement that lingers most gratefully in the memory and listening to this performance one has the feeling that the players underwent a similar experience. The work as a whole is interesting, exhilarating and moving.

H.M.V. Bela Bartok: String quartet in A minor, op 7 (The Pro Arte Quartet). Here also is a wonderfully good record of modern chamber music. With the help of the gramophone one begins to see into a work which if heard sparsely in concert halls would impress the ear with precisely what this record shows to be its least notable characteristic, its harshness. In the present fluent performance one can see the construction of the work and feel the dignity of the writing.

Schubert: String Quintet in C major, op. 163 (The Pro Arte with Anthony Pini as Second 'Cellist). This ground has so often been covered though we remember no record of this work as admirable as this one. Of the music this is not the place to speak. Perhaps one would hardly trust oneself to do so in any case. Some beauty is untouchable. This performance satisfies because it is not only excellent playing but also because it handles the work sanely. Thus the only thing that comes in between the listener and the music is a fine interpretation.

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